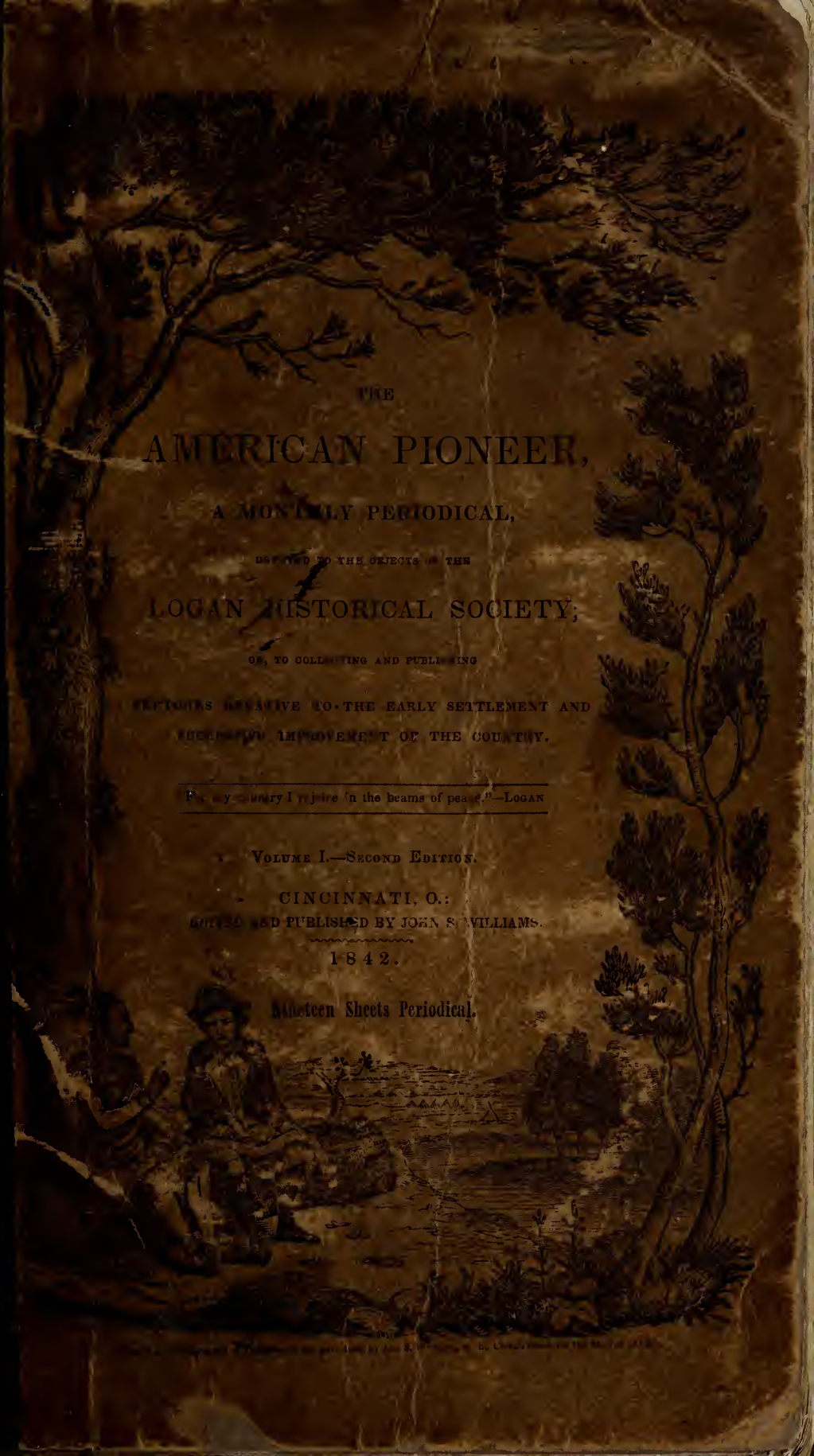


THE

AMERICAN PIONEER,

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL,

DEVOTED TO THE OBJECTS OF THE

LOGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY;

OR, TO COLLECTING AND PUBLISHING

NOTICES RELATIVE TO THE EARLY SETTLEMENT AND

SUBSEQUENT IMPROVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

"Peace, peace; my country I require in the beams of peace."—LOGAN

VOLUME I.—SECOND EDITION.

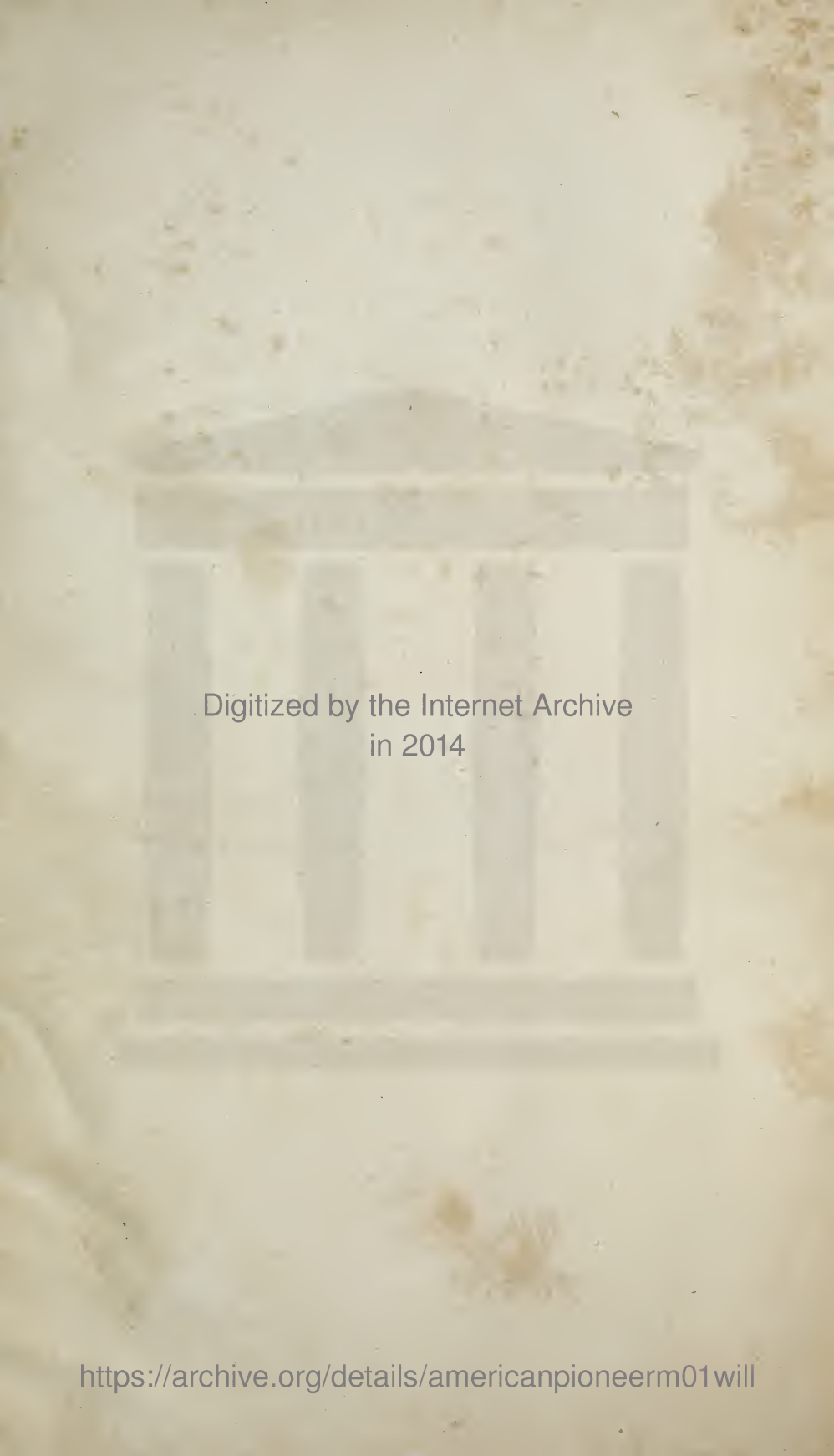
CINCINNATI, O.:

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN S. WILLIAMS.

1842.

Nineteen Sheets Periodical.

NEWS AND GUY LITTELL
KENILWORTH, ILLINOIS


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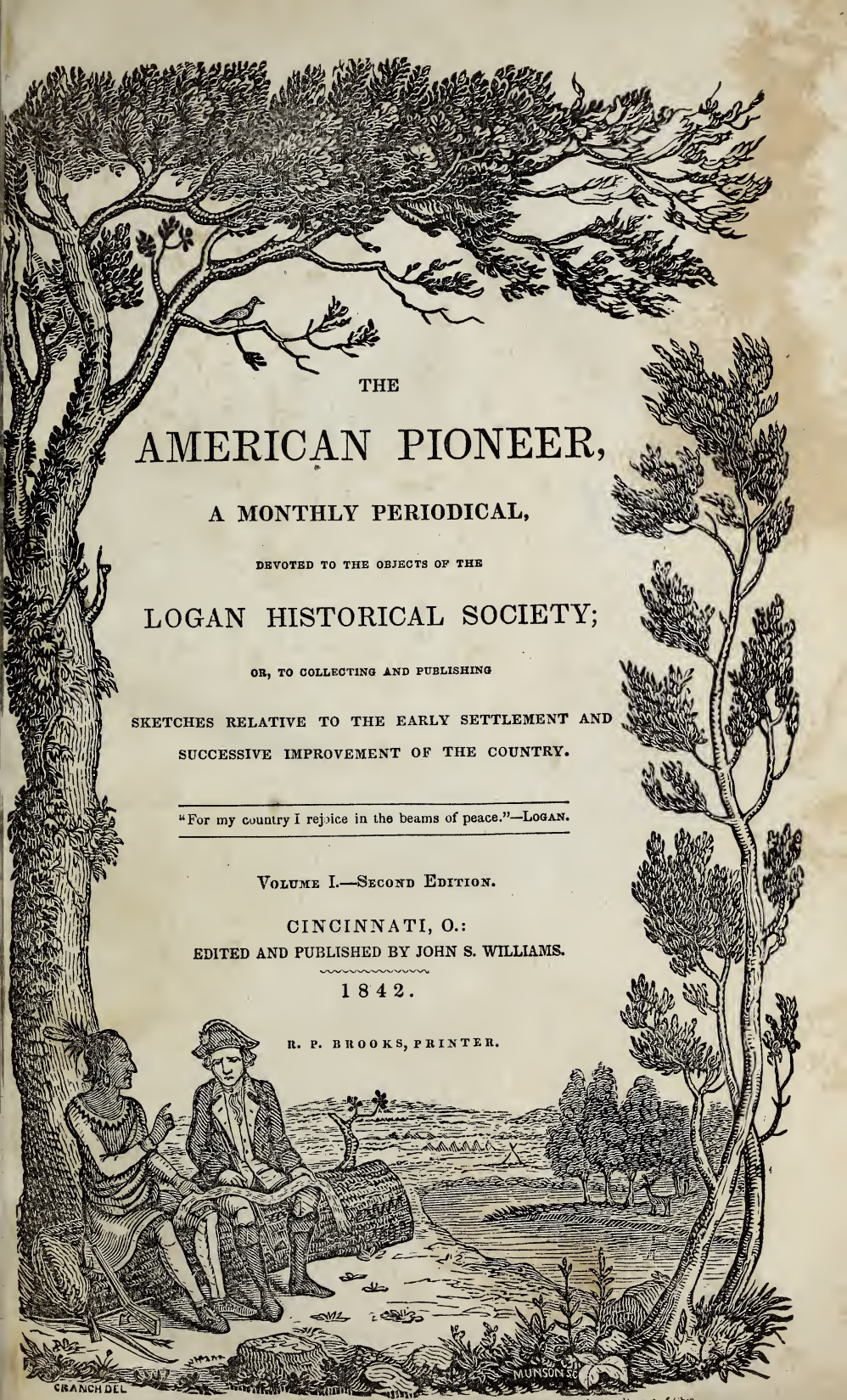
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Klauprech & Menzel's Lith. Cincinnati O.

for description see page 25

FORT HARMAR IN 1790.



THE

AMERICAN PIONEER,

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL,

DEVOTED TO THE OBJECTS OF THE

LOGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY;

OR, TO COLLECTING AND PUBLISHING

SKETCHES RELATIVE TO THE EARLY SETTLEMENT AND SUCCESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

"For my country I rejoice in the beams of peace."—LOGAN.

VOLUME I.—SECOND EDITION.

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1842.

R. P. BROOKS, PRINTER.

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AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I JANUARY, 1842. NO. I.

THE AMERICAN PIONEER.

In presenting the first number of the Pioneer to the public, it is unnecessary to give more than a brief outline of the objects and plan of it. The specimen now offered, will furnish a better view of what it is intended to be, than any thing we could say. It may not be amiss, however, to observe, that in the commencement of such a work, the variety of matter from which to select for it, is not so great as it is hoped will be the case in future.

The Logan Historical Society, of which the Editor is Corresponding Secretary, the objects of which it is intended to promote, is composed of some of the best men of the country, who intend to collect and preserve for the use of posterity, all that can be collected of early or incidental history, of the early settlement and successive improvements of the Western country, and, as collateral therewith, of all North America. Living witnesses can yet be found to testify of events as early as our revolutionary struggle, and well authenticated tradition will reach farther back. The kind of information sought by the Society is fast fading from the memories of the living, and sinking into the grave with the departing. It is a matter of regret, that so much has already escaped forever beyond the reach of man; and let this admonish every pioneer patriot to lose no time in writing their narratives and placing them in the repository now opened to receive and to preserve them. Much of incidental history and instructive anecdotes have found their way into the ephemeral prints of the age, there a few years to await a like fate by the ever-varying changes of time.

To collect and to preserve every thing of the kind for the use of the future historian, as well as to do justice to departed worth, are the principal objects of the Society; and to advance those objects and to publish those interesting documents, for the use of the present generation, are the functions of the American Pioneer. It will at once be seen that the Pioneer takes new ground, that it occupies a position occupied by no periodical of the day. That without such a reciprocating repository and the presenting of successive opportunities for collecting, comparing, enlarging, correcting and confirming, much incidental history can never be brought into one useful repository. The recital of one incident, will lead to the recital of others which it brings afresh into the memory of other venerable pioneers. Youthful companions, long forgotten and unknown to each other, will be introduced to a fresh acquaintance, and in the pages of this work they can meet by mutual and joyous greetings. When the historian commences to collect facts and

incidents from which to collate a regular history, he knows not, without much labor, where to seek, or whom to ask for them. It is true that individual industry may, through a course of years, collect and lay up much valuable materials; but like the miner, he may search in the immediate vicinity of the brightest gems, without discovering them. This difficulty, the American Pioneer is intended to overcome, and we trust that the efforts we are now making will be found to be of the utmost utility. Who that have mixed among men, but have heard aged pioneers remark that they could add to, confirm, or correct narratives given in histories? It is evident that published histories afford no such opportunity for improvement as is now offered.

Systematic arrangement of articles under different and respective heads, will be both unnecessary and inconvenient, if not, in some cases, quite impracticable. We propose to collect and publish narratives relating to land-hunting, immigration, settlements, subsistence, improvements, agriculture, manufactures, navigation, literature, arts, &c. &c. These will be found in books, pamphlets, newspapers, and especially what is received in manuscript from the memory of witnesses, which we hold in the front ranks, for what has been already published, is not so important now to republish, except for the purpose of addition, confirmation, or correction.

Facts related may at times seem to have a party bearing. This is common to all history, and inseparable from some of it; but let us here advertise our correspondents that the *truth* and *justice* of history is our motto, and nothing intended to have a partial bearing on any agitating or exciting question, will be intentionally placed as such in the pages of the Pioneer, and that they must excuse us for omitting such parts as may seem to have that or other injurious tendency. We shall, however, carefully deposit and safely keep, for the use of posterity, all they send, and parts that we may not publish, may at another time and in other hands, be of great utility.

Whether novels or fictions, professedly such, should or should not be encouraged, is a debatable point; but whether romances, mere creatures of the author's imagination, should be given as facts and mixed with history, or not, admits of no argument. The injury of such a course, as tending to lessen the credit of history, from the difficulty of detecting the fiction, is too conspicuous, to require debate to settle.

However well any historical fact may seem to be established, the pages of the Pioneer and the mind of its Editor, will, we hope, both remain open for the reception of any evidence tending either to correct or to confirm it; but it is intended that neither shall be open to angry discussion merely to gain points or to secure particular interests. Truth leads to the general good, and anything leading to that, will be not only admissible, but thankfully received.

With the best intentions, and these observations, we launch our bark and set sail, trusting, under an all-protecting Providence, to the helm of our judgment, the current of public sentiment, and the aid of our friends, for the safety of our voyage and the success of the expedition. JNO. S. WILLIAMS.

Chillicothe, O., Jan. 1, 1842.

THE LOGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In an assemblage of pioneers and citizens from different parts of the Scioto Valley, at Westfall, in Pickaway county, July 28, 1841, Judge Corwin of Portsmouth, a pioneer of the last century, in a short impressive speech, stated, that from the best information he possessed, we were on or very near the spot where Logan, the Mingo chief, the Indian philanthropist and friend of the white man, delivered his celebrated speech, sent to lord Dunmore, creditable to mankind and honorable to him and his nation. The venerable pioneer concluded by proposing that, as if listening to the speech, we uncover and resolve ourselves into a society, determined to perpetuate those principles for which Logan suffered the sneers of his red brethren, by the erection of a monument to his memory, and by the careful collection, safe keeping, and lasting preservation, for the use of posterity, the many scattered but interesting fragments of the history of the early settlements of the western country, as well as what remains of the first and successive settlements of North America. Whereupon, un covered as we were in the sight of God, all present resolved themselves into a society, determined to carry out the wishes of every one, as expressed by the proposer, and also to invite all who are warmed with American feelings to aid them in their enterprise. They then elected Felix Renick, Esq., of Ross county, another pioneer of the last century, President, and Jno. S. Williams, of Chillicothe, Recording and Corresponding Secretary.

Being thus organized, they unanimously *Resolved*,

1. That this Society shall be called the Logan Historical Society.

2. That we will erect a monument to the memory of Logan's worth, on the very spot which the best evidence we may collect shall designate as the one on which his speech was delivered, or as near it as a suitable situation can be procured.

3. That his speech, as given by Thomas Jefferson, shall be fully engraved in gilt letters on said monument, which shall also bear the name of that great patriot who preserved that speech for us.—In the base of the monument shall be deposited a copy of Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and the Declaration of Independence, and Constitutions of the States and United States, the previous proceedings of the Society, and the name of every member thereof.

4. That we will use our best endeavors to ascertain where the remains of Logan lie, and, if found, we will remove them to the monument, or do such acts as shall prevent the place of their repose from being forgotten.

5. That we will collect and safely keep all that is or can be well authenticated of aboriginal history.

6. That as a main and ever during object of our association, we will, with all convenient speed, secure from oblivion, and preserve for posterity, the unpublished history of our early and successive western settlements, and, as collateral therewith, of all North America, much of which is fast fading from the memories of our early settlers, or sinking into the grave with those who had an active part in

a series of hardships, privations and improvements which have no parallel.

7. That we do now most cordially invite all Americans to join our society and to co-operate with us, not only in doing justice to departed worth, but in conferring a blessing on coming generations, by aiding us to put in a tangible form and safely keeping, for their amusement and instruction, the true history and luscious anecdotes of early times, which, being equally astonishing and much more useful, will possess a charm—truth from their fathers—that romances, the inventions of men, never can exhibit.

8. That we will each contribute money and labor to carry out the several objects of our association, and that all who in like manner shall contribute either well authenticated documents or money, or who shall, without pecuniary reward, aid us by their labor, shall be received by us as fellow-members and have their names enrolled as such, and if received, their autographs preserved among the archives of the society.

9. That annual reports of our receipts and expenditures, our progress and our prospects, shall be published. And we respectfully request editors and publishers to give these proceedings and future reports publicity, and each send the paper, to be, with the publisher's name, recorded, and thus be preserved for the *use* of posterity.

Resolved further, That a committee of three from each county represented in this assemblage, be appointed as an executive committee for such county, to give special aid and attention in carrying out the several objects of the society. Accordingly, Hon. Geo. Corwin, Hon. Wm. Oldfield, and Moses Gregory, Esq. were appointed for Scioto county. The Hon. Samuel Reed, Hon. Jno. I. Vanmetre, and John Carolus, Esq. for Pike county. Wm. M. Anderson, Owen T. Reeves, Esqs., and colonel Jno. Madeira, for Ross county. Wm. B. Thrall and Philo N. White, Esqs., and Dr. M. Brown, for Pickaway county. And Hon. Gustavus Swan, and Noah H. Swayne, and John G. Miller, Esqs., were appointed for Franklin county.

It was furthermore *Resolved*, That the citizens of each and every county in the United States, and particularly in the western country, and especially in Ohio, be, and they are hereby invited and respectfully requested to, appoint three or more of their active and patriotic citizens as committees co-ordinate with the above, as media by and through which the citizens may contribute to the objects of this society, *Provided*, Nothing herein shall be construed to lessen the force of the request to all and each in his own name and on behalf of his friends and neighbors, to aid us in our enterprise; but it is intended to prevent unauthorized and pretended agents from imposing upon the community.

Resolved, That we request all communications, subscription papers and monies designed for the society, to be sent to the corresponding secretary in his official capacity, which he is hereby instructed to acknowledge, and under a proper system, safely to keep agreeably to the genius and for the objects of the society.

FELIX RENICK, *President.*

JNO. S. WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

OUR TITLE PAGE.

The design is intended to represent Logan in the act of delivering his celebrated speech to general Gibson, at Old Chillicothe, now called Westfall, on the west bank of the Scioto river, four miles from Circleville and fifteen from this city. The dove seen resting on the branch, and other parts of the design, are easily understood. As some degree of interest may be felt in the life of Logan, and the circumstances which called forth the speech, we proceed to give a sketch of them.

—

LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEF.

It has been truly stated that no piece of composition ever did more, if so much, as the speech of Logan, the Mingo chief, to form the mind and develop the latent energies of the youthful American orator. Its influence has extended even into the halls of Congress, and has been felt upon the bench and in the bar of this nation; nay more, the American pulpit has been graced by energies which that speech has, in its warm simplicity, called forth. It is a speech which Jefferson confessed he would be glad in truth to own. We may then cease to wonder that its genuineness has been questioned; and being confident that it can be satisfactorily established to be Logan's very speech, we will proceed to give some account of its author, and the circumstances which led to the delivery of it. We give these accounts with the double view of informing those of our patrons who may not know it, and of having our account corrected or confirmed, should our friends possess the means and disposition to do it. We shall first give some extracts from Drake's Indian Biography, book v., p. 41.

"*Logan* was called a Mingo* chief, whose father, *Shikellimus*, was chief of the Cayugas, whom he succeeded. *Shikellimus* was attached in a remarkable degree to the benevolent *James Logan*, from which circumstance, it is probable, his son bore his name. The name is still perpetuated among the Indians. For magnanimity in war, and greatness of soul in peace, few, if any, in any nation, ever surpassed *Logan*. He took no part in the French wars which ended in 1760, except that of a peace-maker; was always acknowledged the friend of the white people, until the year 1774, when his brother and several others of his family were murdered, the particulars of which follow. In the spring of 1774, some Indians robbed the people upon the Ohio river, who were in that country exploring the lands, and preparing for settlements. These land-jobbers were alarmed at this hostile carriage of the Indians, as they considered it, and collected themselves at a place called Wheeling creek, the site on which Wheeling is now built, and, learning that there were two Indians on the river a little above, one captain *Michael Cresap*, belonging to the exploring party, proposed to fall upon and kill them. His advice,

* *Mengwe, Maquas, Maqua,* or *Iroquos,* all mean the same.

although opposed at first, was followed, and a party led by *Cresap* proceeded and killed the two Indians. The same day, it being reported that some Indians were discovered below Wheeling upon the river, *Cresap* and his party immediately marched to the place, and at first appeared to show themselves friendly, and suffered the Indians to pass by them unmolested, to encamp still lower down, at the mouth of Grave creek. *Cresap* soon followed, attacked and killed several of them, having one of his own men wounded by the fire of the Indians. Here some of the family of *Logan* were slain. The circumstance of the affair was exceedingly aggravating, inasmuch as the whites *pretended no provocation.*

"Soon after this, some other monsters in human shape, at whose head were *Daniel Greathouse* and one *Tomlinson*, committed a horrid murder upon a company of Indians about thirty miles above Wheeling. *Greathouse* resided at the same place, but on the opposite side of the river from the Indian encampment. A party of thirty-two men were collected for this object, who secreted themselves, while *Greathouse*, under a pretence of friendship, crossed the river and visited them to ascertain their strength; on counting them, he found they were too numerous for his force in an open attack. These Indians, having heard of the late murder of their relations, had determined to be avenged of the whites, and *Greathouse* did not know the danger he was in, until a squaw advised him of it, in a friendly caution, "to go home." The sad requital this poor woman met with will presently appear. This abominable fellow invited the Indians to come over the river and drink rum with him; this being a part of his plot to separate them, that they might be the easier destroyed. The opportunity soon offered; a number being collected at a tavern in the white settlement, and considerably intoxicated, were fallen upon, and all murdered, except a little girl. Among the murdered was a brother of *Logan*, and his sister, whose delicate situation greatly aggravated the horrid crime.

"The remaining Indians, upon the other side of the river, on hearing the firing, set off two canoes with armed warriors, who, as they approached the shore, were fired upon by the whites, who lay concealed, awaiting their approach. Nothing prevented their taking deadly aim, and many were killed and wounded, and the rest were obliged to return. This affair took place May 24th, 1774. These were the events that led to a horrid Indian war, in which many innocent families were sacrificed to satisfy the vengeance of an incensed and injured people.

"A calm followed these troubles, but it was only such as goes before the storm, and lasted only while the tocsin of war could be sounded among the distant Indians. On the 12th July, 1774, *Logan*, at the head of a small party of only eight warriors, struck a blow on some inhabitants upon the Monongahela, where no one expected it. He had left the settlements on the Ohio undisturbed, which every one supposed would be the first attacked, in case of war, and hence the reason of his great successes. His first attack was upon three men who were pulling flax in a field. One was shot down, and the two others taken. These were marched into the wilderness, and, as they

approached the Indian town, *Logan* gave the scalp halloo, and they were met by the inhabitants, who conducted them in. Running the gantlet was next to be performed. *Logan* took no delight in tortures, and he in the most friendly manner instructed one of the captives how to proceed to escape the severities of the gantlet. This same captive, whose name was *Robinson*, was afterwards sentenced to be burned; but *Logan*, though not able to rescue him by his eloquence, with his own hand cut the cords that bound him to the stake, and caused him to be adopted into an Indian family. He became afterwards *Logan's* scribe, and wrote the letter that was tied to a war club, the particulars of which we shall relate farther onward."

We will give a further account of the circumstances which led to the delivery of the speech. It is very concise, and found in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Barton's edition, page 65. The occasion of Mr. Jefferson bringing it in here, as will be seen presently, was in refutation of the belief of some European naturalists, that the American soil and climate tended to weaken the mental energies of the human race. Speaking of the Indians, Mr. Jefferson says:

"The principles of their society forbidding all compulsion, they are to be led to duty and to enterprise by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and success in war, become the foundations of all consequence with them. To these acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however, we have of very superior lustre. I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished any more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to lord Dunmore, when governor of this state. And, as a testimony of their talents in this line, I beg leave to introduce it, first stating the incidents necessary for understanding it.

"In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Greathouse, leading on these parties, surprised, at different times, traveling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should

be disturbed, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to be delivered to lord Dunmore.

"'I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one.'"

Mr. Jefferson wrote his notes on Virginia, as he states, in 1781–2. They were first published in Paris, and afterwards in the United States. In 1797, great excitement was raised against him by the Cresap interest, in which it was, among other things, insinuated that he wrote the speech himself. Mr. Jefferson defended himself in an appendix to his Notes, the preface to which is as follows:

"The Notes on Virginia were written in Virginia, in the year 1781 and 1782, in answer to certain queries proposed to me by Mons. De Marbois, then secretary of the French Legation in the United States; and a manuscript copy was delivered to him. A few copies, with some additions, were afterwards, in 1784, printed in Paris, and given to particular friends. In speaking of the animals of America, the theory of M. de Buffon, the Abbe Raynal, and others, presented itself to consideration. They have supposed there is something in the soil, climate, and other circumstances of America, which occasions animal nature to degenerate, not excepting even the man, native or adoptive, physical or moral. This theory, so unfounded and degrading to one third of the globe, was called to the bar of fact and reason. Among other proofs adduced in contradiction of this hypothesis, the speech of Logan, an Indian chief, delivered to lord Dunmore in 1774, was produced, as a specimen of the talents of the aboriginals of this country, and particularly of their eloquence; and it was believed that Europe had never produced any thing superior to this morsel of eloquence. In order to make it intelligible to the reader, the transaction, on which it was founded, was stated, as it had been generally related in America at the time, and as I had heard it myself, in the circle of lord Dunmore, and the officers who accompanied him: and the speech itself was given as it had, ten years before the printing of that book, circulated in the newspapers through all the then colonies, through the magazines of Great Britain, and the periodical publica-

tions of Europe. For three and twenty years it passed uncontradicted; nor was it ever suspected that it even admitted contradiction. In 1797, however, for the first time, not only the whole transaction respecting Logan was affirmed in the public papers to be false, but the speech itself suggested to be a forgery, and even a forgery of mine, to aid me in proving that the man of America was equal in body and in mind, to the man in Europe. But wherefore the forgery; whether Logan's or mine, it would still have been American. I should indeed consult my own fame if the suggestion, that this speech is mine, were suffered to be believed. He would have a just right to be proud who could with truth claim that composition. But it is none of mine; and I yield it to whom it is due.

"On seeing then that this transaction was brought into question, I thought it my duty to make particular enquiry into its foundation. It was the more my duty, as it was alleged that, by ascribing to an individual therein named, a participation in the murder of Logan's family, I had done an injury to his character, which it had not deserved. I had no knowledge personally of that individual. I had no reason to aim an injury at him. I only repeated what I had heard from others, and what thousands had heard and believed as well as myself; and which no one indeed, till then, had been known to question. Twenty-three years had now elapsed, since the transaction took place. Many of those acquainted with it were dead, and the living dispersed to very distant parts of the earth. Few of them were even known to me. To those, however, of whom I knew, I made application by letter; and some others, moved by a regard for truth and justice, were kind enough to come forward, of themselves, with their testimony. These fragments of evidence, the small remains of a mighty mass which time has consumed, are here presented to the public, in the form of letters, certificates, or affidavits, as they came to me. I have rejected none of these forms, nor required other solemnities from those whose motives and characters were pledges of their truth. Historical transactions are deemed to be well vouched by the simple declarations of those who have borne a part in them; and especially of persons having no interest to falsify or disfigure them. The world will now see whether they, or I, have injured Cresap, by believing Logan's charge against him; and they will decide hetween Logan and Cresap, whether Cresap was innocent, and Logan a calumniator!

"In order that the reader may have a clear conception of the transactions, to which the different parts of the following declarations refer, he must take notice that they establish four different murders. 1. Of two Indians, a little above Wheeling. 2. Of others at Grave creek, among whom were some of Logan's relations. 3. The massacre at Baker's bottom, on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, where were other relations of Logan. 4. Of those killed at the same place, coming in canoes to the relief of their friends."

Here we see that Mr. Jefferson declares "It is none of mine." He then proceeds, as he states, to give letters, certificates, affidavits, &c.: three or four only of them we will insert; and first, as a matter of history, we will give

that of colonel Zane, a person who, in his life-time, was known to the Editor, and also the deposition of James Chambers.

Extract of a letter from colonel EBENEZER ZANE, *to the honorable* JOHN BROWN, *one of the senators in Congress from Kentucky; dated Wheeling, Feb. 4th,* 1800.

I was myself, with many others, in the practice of making improvements on lands upon the Ohio; for the purpose of acquiring rights to the same. Being on the Ohio at the mouth of Sandy creek, in company with many others, news circulated that the Indians had robbed some of the land-jobbers. This news induced the people generally to ascend the Ohio. I was among the number. On our arrival at the Wheeling, being informed that there were two Indians with some traders near and above Wheeling, a proposition was made by the then captain Michael Cresap to waylay and kill the Indians upon the river. This measure I opposed with much violence, alleging that the killing of those Indians might involve the country in a war. But the opposite party prevailed, and proceeded up the Ohio with captain Cresap at their head.

In a short time the party returned, and also the traders, in a canoe; but there were no Indians in the company. I enquired what had become of the Indians, and was informed by the traders and Cresap's party that they had fallen overboard. I examined the canoe, and saw much fresh blood and some bullet holes in the canoe. This fully convinced me that the party had killed the two Indians, and thrown them into the river.

On the afternoon of the day this action happened, a report prevailed that there was a camp, or party of Indians on the Ohio below and near the Wheeling. In consequence of this information, captain Cresap with his party, joined by a number of recruits, proceeded immediately down the Ohio for the purpose, as was then generally understood, of destroying the Indians above mentioned. On the succeeding day, captain Cresap and his party returned to Wheeling, and it was generally reported by the party that they had killed a number of Indians. Of the truth of this report I had no doubt, as one of Cresap's party was badly wounded, and the party had a fresh scalp, and a quantity of property, which they called Indian plunder. At the time of the last mentioned transaction, it was generally reported that the party of Indians down the Ohio were Logan and his family; but I have reason to believe that this report was unfounded.

Within a few days after the transaction above mentioned, a party of Indians were killed at Yellow creek. But I must do the memory of captain Cresap the justice to say, that I do not believe that he was present at the killing of the Indians at Yellow creek. But there is not the least doubt in my mind, that the massacre at Yellow creek was brought on by the two transactions first stated.

All the transactions, which I have related, happened in the latter end of April, 1774; and there can scarcely be a doubt that they were the cause of the war which immediately followed, commonly called Dunmore's War. I am with much esteem, yours, &c.,

EBENEZER ZANE.

The deposition of James Chambers, *communicated by David Riddick, Esq., Prothonotary of Washington county, Pennsylvania, who in the letter enclosing it shows that he entertains the most perfect confidence in the truth of Mr. Chambers.*

Washington County, SS.

Personally came before me, Samuel Shannon, Esq., one of the Commonwealth Justices for the county of Washington in the state of Pennsylvania, James Chambers, who being sworn according to law, deposeth and saith that in the spring of the year 1774, he resided on the frontier near Baker's bottom on the Ohio: that he had an intimate companion, with whom he sometimes lived, named "Edward King:" that a report reached him that Michael Cresap had killed some Indians near Grave creek, friends to an Indian, known by the name of "Logan:" that other of his friends, following down the river, having received intelligence, and fearing to proceed, lest Cresap might fall in with them, encamped near the mouth of Yellow creek, opposite Baker's bottom: that Daniel Greathouse had determined to kill them; had made the secret known to the deponent's companion, King; that the deponent was earnestly solicited to be of the party, and, as an inducement, was told that they would get a great deal of plunder; and further, that the Indians would be made drunk by Baker, and that little danger would follow the expedition. The deponent refused having any hand in killing unoffending people. His companion, King, went with Greathouse, with divers others, some of whom had been collected at a considerable distance under an idea that Joshua Baker's family was in danger from the Indians, as war had been commenced between Cresap and them already; that Edward King, as well as others of the party, did not conceal from the deponent the most minute circumstances of this affair; they informed him that Greathouse, concealing his people, went over to the Indian encampment and counted their number, and found that they were too large a party to attack with his strength; that he had requested Joshua Baker, when any of them came to his house, (which they had been in the habit of,) to give them what rum they could drink, and to let him know when they were in a proper train, and that he would then fall on them; that accordingly they found several men and women at Baker's house; that one of these women had cautioned Greathouse, when over in the Indian camp, that he had better return home, as the Indian men were drinking, and that having heard of Cresap's attack on their relations down the river, they were angry, and, in a friendly manner, told him to go home. Greathouse, with his party, fell on them, and killed all except a little girl, which the deponent saw with the party after the slaughter: that the Indians in the camp hearing the firing, manned two canoes, supposing their friends at Baker's to be attacked, as was supposed: the party under Greathouse prevented their landing by a well-directed fire, which did execution in the canoes: that Edward King showed the deponent one of the scalps. The deponent further saith, that the settlements near the river broke up, and he the deponent immediately repaired to Catfish's camp, and lived sometime with Mr. William Huston: that not long

after his arrival, Cresap, with his party, returning from the Ohio, came to Mr. Huston's and tarried some time: that in various conversations with the party, and in particular with a Mr. Smith, who had one arm only, he was told that the Indians were acknowledged and known to be Logan's friends which they had killed, and that he heard the party say, that Logan would probably avenge their deaths.

They acknowledged that the Indians passed Cresap's encampment on the bank of the river in a peaceable manner, and encamped below him; that they went down and fired on the Indians, and killed several; that the survivors flew to their arms and fired on Cresap, and wounded one man, whom the deponent saw carried on a litter by the party; that the Indians killed by Cresap were not only Logan's relations, but of the women killed at Baker's one was said and generally believed to be Logan's sister. The deponent further saith, that on the relation of the attack by Cresap on the unoffending Indians, he exclaimed in their hearing, that it was an atrocious murder: on which Mr. Smith threatened the deponent with the tomahawk; so that he was obliged to be cautious, fearing an injury, as the party appeared to have lost, in a great degree, sentiments of humanity as well as the effects of civilization. Sworn and subscribed at Washington, the 20th day of April, Anno Domini 1798.

JAMES CHAMBERS.

Before SAMUEL SHANNON.

This testimony fully establishes the culpability of the whites, and the gross injustice and injury done to Logan. We write it with horror and shame.

To show also the feelings of Logan on that occasion, we will introduce to the reader's notice a note left by Logan at a house where the family were made victims of his vengeance. The note bears, evidently, an impress of the mind which poured its simplicity and ardour into the celebrated speech.

Extract of a letter from the honorable Judge INNES, *of Frankfort in Kentucky, to* THOMAS JEFFERSON, *dated Kentucky, near Frankfort, March 2d,* 1799.

I recollect to have seen Logan's speech in 1775, in one of the public prints. That Logan conceived Cresap to be the author of the murder at Yellow creek, it is in my power to give, perhaps, a more particular information, than any other person you can apply to.

In 1774 I lived in Fincastle county, now divided into Washington, Montgomery and part of Wythe. Being intimate in colonel Preston's family, I happened in July to be at his house, when an express was sent to him, as the county Lieutenant, requesting a guard of the militia to be ordered out for the protection of the inhabitants residing low down on the north fork of Holston river. The express brought with him a War Club, and a note, which was left tied to it at the house of one Robertson, whose family were cut off by the Indians, and gave rise for the application to colonel Preston, of which the following is a copy, then taken by me in my memorandum book.

"Captain Cresap,

"What did you kill my people on Yellow creek for? The white people killed my kin, at Conestoga, a great while ago; and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again, on Yellow creek, and took my Cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry: only myself. Captain JOHN LOGAN."

July 21st, 1774.

With great respect, I am, dear sir,
Your most obedient servant,
HARRY INNES.

The reader of the Pioneer is here reminded of the captive whom Logan forcibly rescued from the stake, and became Logan's secretary, as given from Drake above. We now give from Jefferson's Appendix, the "declaration of William Robinson," as follows:

The Declaration of William Robinson.

William Robinson, of Clarksburg, in the county of Harrison, and state of Virginia, subscriber to these presents, declares that he was, in the year 1774, a resident on the west fork of Monongahela river, in the county then called West Augusta, and being in his field on the 12th of July, with two other men, they were surprised by a party of eight Indians, who shot down one of the others and made himself and the remaining one prisoners; this subscriber's wife and four children having been previously conveyed by him for safety to a fort about twenty-four miles off; that the principal Indian of the party which took them was captain Logan; that Logan spoke English well, and very soon manifested a friendly disposition to this subscriber, and told him to be of good heart, that he would not be killed, but must go with him to his town, where he would probably be adopted in some of their families; but above all things that he must not attempt to run away; that in the course of the journey to the Indian town he generally endeavored to keep close to Logan, who had a great deal of conversation with him, always encouraging him to be cheerful and without fear; for that he would not be killed, but should become one of them; and constantly impressing on him not to attempt to run away; that in these conversations he always charged captain Michael Cresap with the murder of his family: that on his arrival in the town, which was on the 18th of July, he was tied to a stake, and a great debate arose whether he should not be burnt; Logan insisted on having him adopted, while others contended to burn him: that at length Logan prevailed, tied a belt of wampum round him as the mark of adoption, loosed him from the post and carried him to the cabin of an old squaw, where Logan pointed out a person who he said was this subscriber's cousin; and he afterwards understood that the old woman was his aunt, and two others his brothers, and that he now stood in the place of a warrior of the family who had been killed at Yellow creek: that about three days after this Logan brought him a piece of paper, and told him he must write a letter for him, which he meant to carry and leave in some house where he should kill some-

body; that he made ink with gun-powder, and the subscriber proceeded to write the letter by his direction, addressing captain Michael Cresap in it, and that the purport of it was, to ask "why he had killed his people? That some time before they had killed his people at some place (the name of which the subscriber forgets,) which he had forgiven; but since that he had killed his people again at Yellow creek, and taken his cousin, a little girl, prisoner; that therefore he must war against the whites: but that he would exchange the subscriber for his cousin." And signed it with Logan's name, which letter Logan took and set out again to war; and the contents of this letter, as recited by the subscriber, calling to mind that stated by Judge Innes to have been left, tied to a war club, in a house, where a family was murdered, and that being read to the subscriber, he recognises it, and declares he verily believes it to have been the identical letter which he wrote, and supposes he was mistaken in stating as he has done before from memory, that the offer of the exchange was proposed in the letter; that it is probable it was only promised him by Logan, but not put in the letter; while he was with the old woman, she repeatedly endeavored to make him sensible that she had been of the party at Yellow creek, and, by signs, showed how they decoyed her friends over the river to drink, and when they were reeling and tumbling about, tomahawked them all, and that whenever she entered on this subject she was thrown into the most violent agitations, and that he afterwards understood that, amongst the Indians killed at Yellow creek, was a sister of Logan, very big with child, whom they ripped open, and stuck on a pole: that he continued with the Indians till the month of November, when he was released in consequence of the peace made by them with lord Dunmore: that, while he remained with them, the Indians, in general, were very kind to him; and especially those who were his adopted relations; but above all, the old woman and family in which he lived, who served him with every thing in their power, and never asked, or even suffered him to do any labor, seeming in truth to consider and respect him, as the friend they had lost. All which several matters and things, so far as they are stated to be of his own knowledge, this subscriber solemnly declares to be true, and so far as they are stated on information from others, he believes them to be true. Given and declared under his hand at Philadelphia, this 28th day of February, 1800.

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

In direct reference to the genuineness of Logan's speech, Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to governor Henry of Maryland, given in the appendix to his Notes, says:

"When lord Dunmore returned from the expedition against the Indians, in 1774, he and his officers brought the speech of Logan, and related the circumstances connected with it. These were so affecting, and the speech itself so fine a morsel of eloquence, that it became the theme of every conversation, in Williamsburgh particularly, and generally, indeed, wheresoever any of the officers resided or resorted. I learned it in Williamsburgh; I believe at lord Dunmore's; and I find in my pocket-book of that year (1774) an entry

of the narrative, as taken from the mouth of some person, whose name, however, is not noted, nor recollected, precisely in the words stated in the Notes on Virginia. The speech was published in the Virginia Gazette of that time, (I have it myself in the volume of gazettes of that year) and though in a style by no means elegant, yet it was so admired, that it flew through all the public papers of the continent, and through the magazines and other periodical publications of Great Britain; and those who were boys at that day will now attest, that the speech of Logan used to be given them as a school exercise for repetition. It was not till about thirteen or fourteen years after the newspaper publications, that the Notes on Virginia were published in America. Combating in these, the contumelious theory of certain European writers, whose celebrity gave currency and weight to their opinions, that our country, from the combined effects of soil and climate, degenerated animal nature, in the general, and particularly the moral faculties of man, I considered the speech of Logan as an apt proof of the contrary, and used it as such; and I copied, verbatim, the narrative I had taken down in 1774, and the speech as it had been given us in a better translation by lord Dunmore. I knew nothing of the Cresaps, and could not possibly have a motive to do them an injury with design. I repeated what thousands had done before, on as good authority as we have for most of the facts we learn through life, and such as, to this moment, I have seen no reason to doubt. That any body questioned it, was never suspected by me, till I saw the letter of Mr. Martin in the Baltimore paper. I endeavored then to recollect who among my contemporaries, of the same circle of society, and consequently of the same recollections, might still be alive. Three and twenty years of death and dispersion had left very few. I remembered, however, that general Gibson was still living, and knew that he had been the translator of the speech. I wrote to him immediately. He, in answer, declares to me, that he was the very person sent by lord Dunmore to the Indian town; that, after he had delivered his message there, Logan took him out to a neighboring wood; sat down with him, and rehearsing, with tears, the catastrophe of his family, gave him that speech for lord Dunmore; that he carried it to lord Dunmore; translated it for him; has turned to it in the Encylopedia, as taken from the Notes on Virginia, and finds that it was his translation I had used, with only two or three verbal variations of no importance. These, I suppose, had arisen in the course of successive copies. I cite general Gibson's letter by memory, not having it with me; but I am sure I cite it substantially right. It establishes unquestionably, that the speech of Logan is genuine; and that being established, it is Logan himself who is author of all the important facts."

It will be noted that Mr. Jefferson says general Gibson "translated" the speech for lord Dunmore. It will also be noted that he says he quotes general Gibson's letter from memory. We have seen no reason to suppose it was a translation. Mr. Robinson, who was Logan's secretary, (see just above,) stated that "captain Logan spoke English well;" and Mr. McClung, on the authority of Simon Kenton, whose life was, doubtless, saved by Logan's

influence, says "Logan's form was striking and manly, his countenance calm and noble, and he spoke the English language with fluency and correctness." *See Sketches, Cincinnati Edition, page* 105.

That Logan delivered his speech in English, there is no reason to doubt, and that Mr. Jefferson called it a translation by mistake, is by no means strange. We will now adduce the affidavit of general Gibson, which relates to the genuineness of the speech, in which he says that "Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, and that on his return to camp he delivered it to lord Dunmore,"—not that he *translated* it for lord Dunmore. Logan *delivered* it to him, he *delivered* it at camp, and no doubt both deliveries were in English.

Alleghany county, SS.
State of Pennsylvania.

Before me, the subscriber, a justice of the peace in and for said county, personally appeared John Gibson, Esq., an associate Judge of same county, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that in the year 1774, he accompanied lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawnese and other Indians on the Siota; that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man of the name of Elliott, who informed lord Dunmore that the chiefs of the Shawnese had sent to request his lordship to halt his army and send in some person, who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Corn-Stalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawnese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia; that he the deponent told him then that it was not colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son captain Michael Cresap was with the party who killed a Shawnese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow creek on the Ohio; that this deponent on his return to camp delivered the speech to lord Dunmore; and that the murders perpetrated as above, were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war. JOHN GIBSON.

Sworn and subscribed the 4th April, 1800, *at Pittsburgh, before me,* JER. BAKER.

Mr. Jefferson, in summing up the evidence collected by him and published in his appendix, very justly observes:

"Of the genuineness of that speech nothing need be said. It was known to the camp where it was delivered; it was given out by lord Dunmore and his officers; it ran through the public papers of these states; was rehearsed as an exercise at schools: published in the papers and periodical works of Europe; and all this, a dozen years be-

fore it was copied into the Notes on Virginia. In fine, general Gibson concludes the question for ever, by declaring that he received it from Logan's hand, delivered it to lord Dunmore, translated it for him, and that the copy in the Notes on Virginia is a faithful copy."

Here we see, Mr. Jefferson from the erroneous impression in his mind that the speech was translated, falls into the same mistake again; doubtless, without proper reflection, and asserts that to be in the evidence, to which he refers, which is *not* in it. Hence, the idea of there being any evidence of its being a translation, is fallacious. If there exists, any where, evidence that that most eloquent production was a translation, we will thank any person for it, and will give it a conspicuous place in the American Pioneer. The truth is what we seek. But until that testimony shall appear, we shall claim for our native tongue the honor of having produced it.

To see that the genuineness of Logan's speech is questioned, even at this day, we have only to turn to the Portsmouth Tribune, of September 3rd, 1841, where we will see the following:

"If evidence really exists as to who first committed the speech to writing, and when, and the identity can be established to a reasonable certainty, the facts will be received with much interest. It is not impossible it may be found in print in one of the few newspapers of that day. We believe that Mr. Jefferson states that he saw it so published when he was a young man. We pretend to the possession of no evidence reflecting light on the question other than that possessed by most others. The absence of historical proof of the particular circumstances, the intrinsic evidence of the paper itself, and the current impression of early times, combine to form the opinion we expressed. We must confess on re-perusal of the speech, it savors to our taste of *white man "too much,"* and Mingo too little."

The very respectable editor of that paper, as we understand, became subsequently convinced and now advocates what we call the right side. We will, however, for the sake of others, give further testimony in confirmation of what is above adduced from Mr. Jefferson.

The doubts of the Portsmouth Tribune attracted the attention of the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, well known as a congressman, who, in a letter to a gentleman in Chillicothe, that was published in the Scioto Gazette, September 20, 1841, says:

"I shall make three extracts from the American Archives, vol. 1. At page 485 is an extract of a letter from Cumberland, dated June 21st, 1774, from which I extract the following:—'All the poor people who was [were] scattered over Allegheny Mountain, are either moved off or gathered in large numbers, and making places of defence to secure themselves. All these misfortunes, and the lives and property of the unhappy people who are among them, are owing to the barbarous murder, no other name can I give it, committed by *Cresap* and one Greathouse, with their men, on a few Indians who resided on, or lived near the mouth of the Yellow creek.' Taken from the extract of a letter received at Philadelphia, dated Carlisle,

June 4, 1774, at page 506:—'We are informed that young *Cresap*, who first began the quarrel with the Indians and murdered a number of them in a cowardly manner, has received a letter of thanks from lord Dunmore.'

"From page 1020. 'Williamsburg, Va., February 4, 1775. The following is said to be a message from captain Logan, an Indian warrior, to governor Dunmore, after the battle in which colonel Charles Lewis was slain, delivered at the treaty:—I appeal to any white man to say, that he ever entered Logan's cabin but I gave him meat; that he ever came naked but I clothed him. In the course of the last war Logan remained in his cabin, an advocate for peace. I had such affection for the white people, that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I should have even lived with them had it not been for colonel *Cresap*, who last year cut off in cold blood all the relations of *Logan*, not sparing women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it—I have killed many, and fully glutted my revenge. I am glad that there is a prospect of peace, on account of the nation; but I beg you will not entertain a thought that any thing I have said proceeds from fear! *Logan* disdains the thought! He will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan? No one.'

"The speech was published in New York, on the 16th of February, 1775, as being an extract of a letter from Virginia. In a few words it varies from the above. So does the speech as published by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia. The speech, as published in New York and by Mr. Jefferson, are not in every word alike, and where either vary from the speech as published in Williamsburg, its polish and beauty, as well as sublimity, are lessened. No white man ever improved the eloquence of an Indian orator in any particular."

Truly, no white man ever could improve the native eloquence of the forest. Further to confirm this, we give the following extract from a letter we received, dated Lexington, Ky., November 6, 1841. It is from the Hon. Robert Wickliffe, Sen.

"As many have doubted the authenticity of Logan's speech, particularly the late Luther Martin, who charged Mr. Jefferson with its fabrication, I state for your information, that Mrs. Howard, a very aged and intelligent lady, the mother of my wife and of general Benjamin Howard, who died in the service during the last war, and youngest sister to colonel William Preston, one of the commissioners to whom Logan's celebrated speech was delivered, informed that her brother brought the speech from the treaty, and she read it, and that according to her best information, Mr. Jefferson's publication or draft of it was strictly correct. She said that her brother allowed copies of it to be taken, and that several of them were in existence in the county of Augusta for many years after the speech was delivered

That she heard her brother give a narrative of the speech and of Logan."

We will now take our readers back to Drake's Biography, book v. p. 46.

"There are, perhaps, still some who doubt of the genuineness of *Logan's* speech, and indeed we must allow, that there are some circumstances laid before us in Dr. *Barton's* Medical and Physical Journal, for the year 1808, which look irreconcilable. Without impeaching in the slightest degree the character of Mr. *Jefferson*, such facts are there compared, and disagreements pointed out, as chanced to come in the way of the writer. It appears from the French traveler *Robin*, that, in the time of our revolution, a gentleman of Williamsburg gave him an Indian speech, which bears great resemblance to the one said to be by *Logan;* but differing very essentially in date, and the person implicated in murdering the family of Logan. The work of *Robin* is entitled "New Travels in America," and we have only an English translation of it. It is therefore possible that some mistakes may have crept into it, or that *Robin* himself might have misunderstood the date, and even other parts of the affair; however, the probability is rather strong that either the speech of *Logan* had been perverted for the purpose of clearing *Cresap's* character of the foul blot which entirely covered it, by wilfully charging it upon another, or that some old speech of his upon another occasion, had been remodeled to suit the purpose for which it was used. Upon these questions we must leave the reader to decide. *Robin* has the name of the chief, *Lonan.* Some Frenchmen may write it thus, but I have before me those that do not, and more probably some English pronounced it so, and so *Robin* heard it. The way he introduces the speech, if the introduction be fact, forever destroys the genuineness of the speech of *Logan* of 1774. It is thus:

"'Speech of the savage LONAN, in a General Assembly, as it was sent to the governor of Virginia, anno 1754.'

"Now it is certain, if the speech, which we will give below, *was delivered in the Assembly of Virginia, in the year* 1754, it could not have been truly delivered, as we have given it, to lord *Dunmore* in 1774. That the reader may judge for himself, that of 1754 follows.

"'LONAN will no longer oppose making the proposed peace with the white men. You are sensible he never knew what fear is—that he never turned his back in the day of battle—No one has more love for the white men than I have. The war we have had with them has been long and bloody on both sides. Rivers of blood have run on all parts, and yet no good has resulted therefrom to any. I once more repeat it—let us be at peace with these men. I will forget our injuries, the interest of my country demands it. I will forget—but difficult indeed is the task! Yes, I will forget—that major *Rogers* cruelly and inhumanly murdered, in their canoes, my wife, my children, my father, my mother, and all my kindred.—This roused me to deeds of vengeance! I was cruel in despite of myself. I will die content if my country is once more at peace; but when *Lonan* shall be no more, who, alas, will drop a tear to the memory of *Lonon!*'"

Is it likely that such a speech would ever have been delivered in a General Assembly, and sent to the governor of Virginia, and no one but Robin know of it? How is it, that this French traveler should get to know of things done in Virginia, unknown to Jefferson and to every one who lived there? It is, however, not uncommon for itinerant authors to find out things about us, that no American can.

Before closing this notice of Logan's life, we will take the reader back to the Appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and from the testimony of a Moravian missionary, Rev. John Heckewelder, show, in corroboration of Kenton's and Robinson's evidence, not only the strong *probability*, that "Logan did speak English fluently and correctly," but the strong *improbability* that he could not. Look at the station, the respectability of Logan's father, his associates, and the fact of Logan's conversation with Heckewelder, and that Zeisberger knew him from a boy, and you can hardly believe he did not know how to speak English, should it be asserted on any but the best authority.' We now give the testimony.

"Logan was the second son of Shikellemus, a celebrated chief of the Cayuga nation. This chief, on account of his attachment to the English government, was of great service to the country; having the confidence of all the Six Nations, as well as that of the English, he was very useful in settling disputes, &c. &c. He was highly esteemed by Conrad Weisser, Esq. (an officer for government in the Indian department,) with whom he acted conjunctly, and was faithful unto his death. His residence was at Shamokin, where he took great delight in acts of hospitality to such of the white people whose business led them that way. His name and fame were so high on record, that count Zinzendorf, when in this country, in 1742, became desirous of seeing him, and actually visited him at his house in Shamokin. About the year 1772, Logan was introduced to me, by an Indian friend, as son to the late reputable chief Shikellemus, and as a friend to the white people. In the course of conversation, I thought him a man of superior talents than Indians generally were. The subject turning on vice and immorality, he confessed his too great share of this, especially his fondness for liquor. He exclaimed against the white people for imposing liquors upon the Indians; he otherwise admired their ingenuity; spoke of gentlemen, but observed the Indians unfortunately had but few of these as their neighbors, &c. He spoke of his friendship to the white people, wished always to be a neighbor to them, intended to settle on the Ohio, below Big Beaver; was (to the best of my recollection) then encamped at the mouth of this river, (Beaver,) urged me to pay him a visit, &c. *Note.*—I was then living at the Moravian town on this river, in the neighborhood of Cuskuskee. In April, 1773, while on my passage down the Ohio for Muskinghum, I called at Logan's settlement, where I received every civility I could expect from such of the family as were at home.

"Indian reports concerning Logan, after the death of his family, ran to this; that he exerted himself during the Shawanese war, (then so

called) to take all the revenge he could, declaring he had lost all confidence in the white people. At the time of negotiation, he declared his reluctance in laying down the hatchet, not having (in his opinion) yet taken ample satisfaction; yet, for the sake of the nation, he would do it. His expressions, from time to time, denoted a deep melancholy. Life (said he) had become a torment to him: he knew no more what pleasure was: he thought it had been better if he had never existed, &c. &c. Report further states, that he became in some measure delirious, declared he would kill himself, went to Detroit, drank very freely, and did not seem to care what he did, and what became of himself. In this condition he left Detroit, and on his way between that place and Miami was murdered. In October, 1781, (while as prisoner on my way to Detroit,) I was shown the spot where this should have happened. Having had an opportunity since last June of seeing the Rev. David Zeisberger, senior, missionary to the Delaware nation of Indians, who had resided among the same on Muskinghum, at the time when the murder was committed on the family of Logan, I put the following questions to him. 1. Who he had understood it was that had committed the murder on Logan's family? And secondly, whether he had any knowledge of a speech sent to lord Dunmore by Logan, in consequence of this affair, &c. To which Mr. Zeisberger's answer was: That he had, from that time when this murder was committed to the present day, firmly believed the common report (which he had never heard contradicted) viz. that one Cresap was the author of the massacre; or that it was committed by his orders; and that he had known Logan as a boy, had frequently seen him from that time, and doubted not in the least, that Logan had sent such a speech to lord Dunmore on this occasion, as he understood from me had been published; that expressions of that kind from Indians were familiar to him; that Logan in particular was a man of quick comprehension, good judgment and talents. Mr. Zeisberger has been a missionary upwards of fifty years; his age is about eighty; speaks both the language of the Onondagoes and the Delawares; resides at present on the Muskinghum, with his Indian congregation; and is beloved and respected by all who are acquainted with him. JOHN HECHEWELDER.

The Indian reports which Mr. Heckewelder heard respecting the vengeful state of Logan's mind, after making peace, is contradicted by all we know of Logan. Is it to be wondered at, if a man outraged and destroyed by us as Logan was, should seek relief in the bottle, and while under its influence, vent something like spleen and malice? Would white men act much better than he did? That he loved strong drink, we are not disposed to doubt, and that so good a man should see and confess his evils we might reasonably expect. His censures of the white men for introducing strong drink among Indians, showed his good sense. The truth of the reports that he was killed in a drunken frolic, admits of serious doubts;—we have, and shall publish in the Pioneer, some evidence which runs in favor of his death by disease, at old Chillicothe, on the banks of the Scioto river, fifteen miles from this city, the place of his residence, and, as we believe, the very spot where

his celebrated speech was delivered, and where the Logan Historical Society intend to erect a monument to the memory of his worth, inscribed with his speech, so that in future ages our sons, from imperishable marble, may learn something of the native eloquence of this new world.

Should it, however, be proved that Logan's after-life really was such as the Indians reported, what shall we say? Shall we condemn him when we behold the learned professions of civilized and christian men profaned by the baneful cup? When it intrudes into the bar, upon the bench, and in the councils of the nation, when the sanctity of the pulpit is sometimes invaded by it? No. We will drop a tear over human weakness, and let the name of Logan live among those of the wise and good.

TERRITORIAL CHRONOLOGY.

[*To be extended indefinitely, with all ascertained errors corrected.*]

1784 The tract of land north-west of the Ohio river ceded to congress by state of Virginia, reserving her military district between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers.

1785-6 Congress acquires from the Indians, the lands watered by the Muskingum, Scioto, and Great and Little Miami rivers.

Fort Harmer erected at the mouth of the Muskingum.

1787 July 13.—Congress assumed jurisdiction of the territory, and passed an ordinance for its government. Appointed A. St. Clair governor, W. Sargeant, secretary, and S. H. Parsons, J. W. Varnum, and J. C. Symmes, judges, with legislative, judicial, and executive authority.

Aug. 1.—Colonel Anderson opened, at Louisville, Kentucky, an office for the entry of lands in the Virginia military district.

1788 April 7.—Marietta settled by Rufus Putnum and associates.

July 9th.—Governor St. Clair and judges arrive at Fort Harmer.

July 15.—The governor, by proclamation, organized the territorial government.

July 26.—Washington county erected, extending to the Scioto river. Cincinnati projected under the name of Losantiville.

November 18.—Some emigrants arrive at Columbia and stay all winter; made settlement next spring.

December 25.—First day of public thanksgiving, by proclamation.

1789 Cincinnati laid out under its present name.

February.—North Bend settled by Judge Symmes.

April 16.—Columbia settled by Benj. Stites and associates. Fort Washington built. Building commenced in Cincinnati.

Belprie and Newberry settled.

1790 January 2.—County of Hamilton erected.

January 5.—Courts established four times a year.

FORT HARMER, THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN OHIO.

[See Frontispiece.]

Our readers are presented below with an account of the settlement, drawn up for the American Pioneer, by the indefatigable Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, who for this and his many favors, has our grateful acknowledgments. To make the favor complete, he has sent to us the original drawing of the fort and vicinity, taken by Joseph Gilman, Esq. in 1790, with liberty to take a copy, which has been done, and is presented in the frontispiece. There, directly in front, you have a view of the fort and its systematic, convenient, and tasteful arrangements; beyond which move on westwardly, toward the right, the still waters of the Ohio, which, a little to the left on the drawing, receive the waters of the Muskingum, beyond which is a small view of the point now occupied by the city of Marietta. Beyond the Ohio you have the Virginia shore, on which appears the farm of colonel Isaac Williams, an early Pioneer, a biography of whose life, rich with incident and instruction, is promised for the Pioneer. A little more to the left, is observed the lower end of Devol's island; beyond which, on the right and left, rises, in majestic grandeur, the bold scenery which bounds the view, and inspires a feeling of awe. Between the beholder and the fort are gardens, and a little to the left stands the council-house, where, in 1789, governor Arthur St. Clair made his treaty with the Indians. Was not that the cradle of Ohio?

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FORT HARMER.

This fort was erected on the right bank of the Muskingum river, at its junction with the Ohio, by a detachment of United States troops under the command of major John Doughty, in the autumn of the year 1785. It was not completed until the following year. The position was judiciously chosen, as it commanded not only the mouth of the Muskingum, but swept the waters of the Ohio, from a curve in the river, for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort. It was the first military post built within the limits of the present state of Ohio, with the exception of Fort Laurens, which was erected in the year 1778, on the right bank of the Tuscarawas, a little below Sandy creek, by general McIntosh, in the heart of the Indian country, and evacuated in the autumn of the following year. The fort stood on what is called the "second bottom," being elevated above the ordinary floods of the Ohio, while between it and the banks of the rivers, was a lower or first bottom, depressed about six feet, on to which the descent was by a gradual natural slope. This regular glacis was continued for a quarter of a mile up the Muskingum and for a considerable distance below on the Ohio, adding

greatly to the natural and singular beauty of the spot. The outlines of the fort formed a regular pentagon; and the area, embraced within its walls, contained about three quarters of an acre. The curtains or main walls of the fort were constructed of large timbers, placed horizontally, raised to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, and were one hundred and twenty feet in length, as was recently ascertained by measurement; the outlines of two of the bastions being still readily traced in the earth. The bastions were constructed of large timbers set upright in the ground, fourteen feet in height, fastened together by strips of timber treenailed into each picket. The outlines of these were also pentagonal; the fifth side, or that opening into the area of the fort, being occupied by the dwelling houses or quarters of the officers, as may be seen by looking at the sketch of the garrison accompanying this article. The barracks or quarters for the private soldiers, were erected along the sides of the curtains with their roofs sloping into the fort. They were divided into four rooms of thirty feet each, with comfortable fire-places, and afforded ample space for a regiment of men. Commodious buildings of hewed logs were erected in the bastions for the officers; these were two stories in height, with two rooms on a floor, and fire-places at each end. The large house in the south-east bastion appears to have been used for a store-house. From the roof of the barrack which stood in the curtain facing the Ohio river, there arose a square tower like a cupola, surmounted by a flag-staff, in which was stationed a sentinel; the room beneath was the guard-house. An arsenal built of large logs and covered with earth, stood in the area of the fort near the guard-house, and answered as a "bomb-proof" or magazine for the protection of their powder. The main gate was next the river; with a sally-port on the side towards the hills, which rise abruptly from the level grounds at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Near the centre of the fort was dug a well, for the supply of the garrison with water in case of a siege, although for ordinary uses it was brought from the river. In the rear of the garrison, on the ground which had supplied the materials for building the fort, major Doughty had laid out fine gardens; these were cultivated by the soldiers, and, in the virgin soil of the Ohio, produced an abundant crop of culinary vegetables for the use of the troops. To the bravery and pride of a fine soldier, the major also possessed a refined taste for horticulture. Peaches were planted out as soon as the ground was cleared, and in the second or third year produced crops of fine fruit. A variety of his originating is still cultivated around Marietta, and known as the "Doughty peach." Fort Harmer was so named in honor of colonel Josiah Harmer, to

whose regiment major Doughty was attached. It continued to be occupied by the troops of the United States until September, 1790, when they were ordered down to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. A company under the command of captain Haskel, continued to make the fort their head-quarters during the Indian war; sending out detachments of six or eight men, at regular intervals, to assist the colonists at Marietta, Belprie and Waterford in guarding their garrisons against the Indians. The barracks and officers' houses, not needed for the accommodation of the troops, were occupied by the inhabitants living on the west side of the Muskingum river. The house in the south-west bastion was owned by major Doughty, who made a present of it to the late Hon. Paul Fearing, then a young lawyer, to whom he was much attached. Mr. Fearing occupied it during the war, and for two or three years after. The fort was a great convenience to the new settlers, affording them comfortable dwellings as well as a sure protection against the Indians. It does not appear that any regular batteries were built within the walls for the mounting of cannon, as it was in no danger of any attack from enemies who had the use of cannon. One or two six pound field-pieces were mounted on carriages, and usually kept on the bank just without the walls; with these they could command the boats on the river. The hill from which the drawing of the fort was taken, looked directly into it, and cannon on its brow would sweep away every part of it. As a post to awe and keep the hostile savages in check, the location was a very judicious one. Between the walls of the fort and the bank of the river, directly opposite to the mouth of the Muskingum, there was sufficient space to muster a battalion of men; a part of this ground was occupied by three stout log buildings, erected for the use of the artificers attached to the garrison. The river has made sad inroads on the site of the old fort. At this day not only the whole ground between it and the water is washed away, but also more than half of the site occupied by the fort, so that the stone wall of the well, which was near the centre, is now seen projecting from the upright face of the bank. This continual crumbling of the banks has widened the mouth of the Muskingum river so much, that during the summer months a dry sand-bar or island occupies the spot that used to be ten or twelve feet in depth. Before any clearings were made, the huge sycamores, as they reclined over the water on the opposite shores, narrowed the mouth of the river so much, that a person passing hastily by in the middle of the Ohio, would hardly notice its outlet, so darkly was it enshrouded by these giants of the forest. The hand of cultivation has greatly damaged the permanency, and marred

the beauty of the river banks on the Ohio, by cutting away the trees. The roots acted as so many ligatures and fillets of net-work in protecting the earth from the wash of the waters, while their graceful trunks and drooping branches served to beautify the shores of the Bel-riviere. In digging away the bank, in 1840, to form a landing or road up from the river, on to the site of the old fort, several interesting relics were found which once belonged to the inmates of the garrison. Amongst them were two or three copper coins of the earliest emission of the United States, shoe buckles, buttons, spoons, knives and forks, with a number of four and six pound shots; some of these articles are now in the possession of the writer.

Although no attack was ever made on the fort by the Indians, yet they often appeared on the hill in its rear, which commanded a full view of its interior. From this elevation they often watched the movements of the inhabitants as they went out to work in their gardens and adjoining fields, and several were killed within gun shot of the garrison. Of these tragical events no one possesses more interest than that in which the Hon. R. J. Meigs, late governor of Ohio, was engaged;—it is as follows:

Border Incident.—Governor Meigs in great danger.

During the continuance of the Indian war, from 1790 to 1795, it was customary for all the inmates of all the garrisons to cultivate considerable fields of Indian corn and other vegetables near the walls of their defences. Although hazardous in the extreme, it was preferable to starvation. For a part of that time no provisions could be obtained from the older settlements above, on the Monongahela and Ohio; sometimes from a scarcity amongst themselves, and always at great hazard from Indians, who watched the river for the capture of boats. Another reason was the want of money; many of the early settlers having expended a large share of their funds in the journey on, and for the purchase of lands, while others had not a single dollar; so that necessity compelled them to plant their fields. The war having commenced so soon after their arrival, and at a time when not expected, as a formal treaty was made with them at Marietta in January, 1789, which by the way was only a piece of Indian diplomacy, they never intending to abide by it any longer than suited their convenience, and no stores being laid up for a siege, they were taken entirely unprepared. So desperate were their circumstances at one period, that serious thoughts of abandoning the country were entertained by many of the leading men. Under these circumstances Mr. Meigs, then a young lawyer, was forced to lay aside the

gown, and assume the use of both the sword and the plow. It is true that but little ploughing was done, as much of the corn was then raised by planting the virgin soil with a hoe, amongst the stumps and logs of the clearing, after burning off the brush and light stuff. In this way large crops were invariably produced; so that nearly all the implements needed were the axe and the hoe. It so happened that Mr. Meigs, whose residence was in Campus Martius, the garrison on the east side of the Muskingum river, had planted a field of corn on the west side of that stream in the vicinity of Fort Harmer. To reach this field the river was to be crossed near his residence in a canoe, and the space between the landing and his crop, a distance of about half a mile, to be passed by an obscure path through a thick wood.

Early in June, 1792, Mr. Meigs, having completed the labor of the day a little before night, set out on his return home in company with Joseph Symonds and a colored boy, which he had brought with him as a servant from Connecticut. Immediately on leaving the field, they entered the forest through which they had to pass before reaching the canoe. Symonds and the boy were unarmed, Mr. Meigs carried a small shot-gun, which he had taken with him for the purpose of shooting a turkey, which at that day abounded to an extent that would hardly be credited at this time. Flocks of several hundred were not uncommon, and of a size and fatness that would excite the admiration of an epicure of any period of the world, even of Apicius himself. Meeting, however, with no turkies, he had discharged his gun at a large snake which crossed his path. They had now arrived within a few rods of the landing, when two Indians, who had been for some time watching their movements and heard the discharge of the gun, sprang into the path behind them, fired and shot Symonds through the shoulder. He, being an excellent swimmer, rushed down the bank and into the Muskingum river; where, turning on his back, he was enabled to support himself on the surface until he floated down near to Fort Harmer, where he was taken up by a canoe. His wound, although a dangerous one, was healed, and I knew him twenty years afterwards. The black boy followed Symonds into the river as far as he could wade, but being no swimmer, was unable to get out of reach of the Indian who pursued them, but was seized and dragged on shore. The Indian who had captured him was desirous of making him a prisoner, which he as obstinately refused, and made so much resistance that he finally tomahawked and scalped him near the edge of the water. To this alternative he was in a manner compelled, rather than lose both prisoner and scalp;

as the rangers and men at Campus Martius had commenced firing at him from the opposite shore. The first shot was fired by a spirited black man in the service of commodore Abraham Whipple, who was employed near the river at the time.

From some accident, it seems that only one of the Indians was armed with a rifle, while the other had a tomahawk and knife. After Symonds was shot, Mr. Meigs immediately faced about in order to retreat to Fort Harmer. The savage armed with the rifle, had placed himself in the path, intending to cut off his escape, but had no time to reload it before his intended victim clubbed his gun and rushed upon his antagonist. As he passed, Mr. Meigs aimed a blow at his head, which the Indian returned with his rifle. From the rapidity of the movement, neither of them were seriously injured, although it staggered each considerably, yet neither fell to the ground. Instantly recovering from the shock, he pursued his course to the fort with the Indian close at his heels. Mr. Meigs was in the vigor of early manhood, and had, by frequent practice in the race, become a very swift runner. His foeman was also very fleet, and amongst the most active of their warriors, as none but such were sent into the settlements on marauding excursions. The race continued for sixty or eighty rods with little advantage on either side, when Mr. Meigs gradually increased his distance a-head, and leaping across a deep run that traversed the path, the Indian stopped on the brink, threw his tomahawk, and gave up the pursuit with one of those fierce yells which rage and disappointment both served to sharpen. It was distinctly heard at both the forts. About eight years since, an Indian tomahawk was plowed up near this very spot, and was most probably the one thrown at Mr. Meigs; as the rescue and pursuit from Fort Harmer was so immediate upon hearing the alarm, that he had no time to recover it. With the scalp of the poor black boy, the Indians ascended the abrupt side of the hill which overlooked the garrison, and, shouting defiance to their foes, escaped into the forest.

The excitement was very great at the garrison, and taught the inmates a useful lesson; that of being better armed and more on their guard when they went out on their agricultural pursuits. Had Mr. Meigs tried any other expedient than that of facing his enemy and rushing instantly upon him, he must inevitably have lost his life, as the Indian was well aware of his gun being unloaded. On his right was the river, on his left a very steep and high hill; beyond him the pathless forest, and between him and the fort his Indian foe. To his sudden and unexpected attack, to his dauntless and intrepid manner, and to his activity, he undoubtedly owed his life.

NAVIGATION BY STEAM.

In the investigation of this subject two leading objects of the society are advanced, viz: that of doing justice to departed worth, and exhibiting the successive improvements of the Western country, and collateral therewith, of all North America.

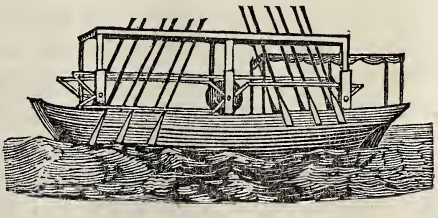
There are few subjects more interesting or which are more important in their practical results than navigation by steam, hence, to be correctly informed of the difficulties, the privations, the perseverance of those to whom we owe so much, must be interesting; while the cold neglect and frequent abuse, to which the greatest benefactors of mankind are frequently subjected by those who do not know, and cannot appreciate their worth, may teach us a useful lesson. It may, or ought, to learn us caution in letting our ignorance of a subject take the judgment-seat in our minds, and condemn that which we do not understand, and which we have used little or no industry to investigate. That there is an improvement among us, in this respect, there is much reason to hope.

Without intending to lessen the respect that is rightfully due to James Rumsey, Oliver Evans, John Stevens, Nicholas Roosenvelt, Chancellor Livingston, Robert Fulton, and perhaps others, the energies of all whom, were required to bring the public to see their interest, and to make this most noble invention completely triumphant over prejudice and ignorance, we shall commence with some account of John Fitch and his boat. A writer in the Family Magazine, volume VI., page 386, doubtless on good authority, says:

"John Fitch and James Rumsey, in the year 1783, without connection or acquaintance, brought into form plans for the use of steam-vessels on the great rivers and lakes, and along the indented sea-coast of the United States. Both in 1784 exhibited their plans to Washington. Rumsey made his project public by a model before his rival, but Fitch first reduced his to successful practice upon the Delaware; this was in 1785; in the following year Rumsey also succeeded in starting a boat upon the Potomac.

"Fitch's plan may best be understood from his own description, and the plate annexed:

"It is to be propelled through the water by the force of steam. The steam-engine is to be similar to the late improved steam-engines in Europe, these alterations excepted: the cylinder is to be horizontal, and the steam to work with equal force at each end thereof. The mode of forming the vacuum is believed to be entirely new; also of letting the water into it, and throwing it off against the atmosphere, without any friction. The undertakers are also of opinion that their engine will work



[Fitch's Paddle-Boat.]

with an equal force to those lately improved engines, it being a twelve-inch cylinder; and they expect it will move with a clear force, after deducting the friction, of between eleven and twelve hundred pounds weight, which force is to be applied to the turning of an axle-tree on a wheel of eighteen inches diameter. The piston is to move about three feet; and each vibration of the piston turns the axle-tree about two-thirds round. They propose to make the piston to strike thirty strokes in a minute, which will give the axle-tree about forty revolutions. Each revolution of the axle-tree moves twelve oars five and a half feet: as six oars come out of the water, six more enter the water, which make a stroke of about eleven feet each revolution. The oars work perpendicularly, and make a stroke similar to the paddle of a canoe. The cranks of the axle-tree act upon the oars about one-third of their length from their lower end, on which part of the oar the whole force of the axle-tree is applied. The engine is placed in about the thirds of the boat, and both the action and reaction of the piston operate to turn the axle-tree the same way.

"The system of oars not proving successful, Fitch was desirous of trying what had been tried before, viz. paddle-wheels, but was prevented from want of funds."

The editor of the New York Sun, in July, 1839, related the following anecdote respecting the experiment of Fitch.

"At the time of making the exhibition, Fitch remarked to the few scientific gentlemen who would condescend to witness it: 'This, gentlemen, will be the mode of crossing the Atlantic in time, and although I may not live to see it, you may, when steam will be preferred to all other modes of conveyance; and it will be particularly useful in ascending the Mississippi.' He then retired, when a person present observed in a tone of deep sympathy, 'Poor fellow, what a pity he is crazy.'"

Knowing that the honorable Robert Wickliffe, Sr., knew something of the history of John Fitch, he was asked, to give us, for the public, such information as he possessed. In answer we received the following letter, which will be read with intense interest.

LEXINGTON, Kentucky, Nov. 6, 1841.

DEAR SIR:

In answer to your letter of the 6th of November, instant, requesting me to say what I know, of my own knowledge or have derived from others, concerning John Fitch, I can only state, that although I remember to have seen John Fitch, that I had but little personal intercourse with him; and recollect but little that he said during the interview I had with him, although he discoursed about his invention of steam-boats. When a boy, I remember reading, at my father's, the controversy between Fitch and Rumsey, and that circumstance, together with the amazing progress that the art in applying steam

has since made, induced me to be at all times desirous of ascertaining, to my own satisfaction, the individual or individuals to whom the world was most indebted for its *use* in the *present* age. And these enquiries have resulted in a firm conviction that it owes much, if not most, to John Fitch. The substance of all I can ascertain of Mr. Fitch, either by parole or records, that I have seen, is,—that he was a native of Connecticut; a man of robust person and vigorous intellect; inclined to mechanics in his studies and habits, but not educated a practical mechanic; was speculative on religious subjects and rejected the Christian doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, but believed in one supreme God; and that in the maintenance of his principles of religion, he was able, open, and free in his conversation and remarks, but was never heard to speak of his private affairs or family connexions, by any one I have conversed with, except so far as I shall hereafter relate. What time Mr. Fitch first visited the western country, is unknown: but he must have been here before May, 1778, as he obtained from the Court of Commissioners a certificate of preemption for a thousand acres of land on Simson's creek, in this state, for marking and improving of it, before May, 1778. The account of his invention which he gave to a friend of mine, is, that in the month of June, 1780, while he was sitting on the banks of the Ohio, contemplating its magnificence and reflecting on its great length from its source to the ocean, and thinking of the vastness of the extent and fertility of the whole valley of the Mississippi, he said to himself, "A great and a good God, has never provided such rivers and such a country for his creatures, without giving to man the power of reducing these rivers to his own use and purpose; which can never effectually be done until he is able to overcome the currents of rivers by some new invented mode of navigation." That he retired from the river bank to *his camp*, but his mind was continually suggesting to him plans by which the rivers, with bold and strong currents, could be navigated against the flow of the streams, by some more effectual method than man had then in use. That while thus reflecting it was brought to his recollection, that he had read and heard of Mr. Watt's use of steam, in propelling mills, and said to himself, "That if Mr. Watt can propel mills with steam, I can navigate boats against the stream with it." With his mind full of the idea that steam could be applied, effectually, in navigating rivers, he quitted the wilds of Kentucky, determining to visit Philadelphia with a view to disclose to some capitalist of that city, his thoughts on the subject of navigating the rivers of America by the agency of steam. Mr. Fitch stated that, on his way to Philadelphia, he passed through Winchester, in Vir-

ginia, where he spent some time to refresh himself, and that during his sojourn at that place, he accidentally met with Mr. Rumsey, who he discovered to be a gentleman of a philosophical turn of mind, and that Rumsey so far gained his confidence, that he disclosed to him, not only his speculation in the west, but his firm conviction that the agency of steam might be used in navigation; and if, on experiment, it was found to answer, would add incalculable value to the fertile lands of the United States, lying remote from the ocean; and further informed Mr. Rumsey, that he was then on his way to Philadelphia to interest some capitalist in his views, and if successful, immediately to sail for Europe, and visit Mr. Watt's mills and gain such insight into the art of raising and applying steam, as would enable him to carry into effect his plan for propelling boats on the rivers of America with steam. That after parting with Mr. Rumsey, he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he addressed himself to the late William Bingham, Esq., with such success, that Mr. Bingham supplied him with means to visit England, which he did, and through the kindness of Mr. Watt and others, was put fully into possession of the art of raising and applying the power of steam. And after doing so, returned to Philadelphia, to exhibit, through the means of his friend and patron, Mr. Bingham, his discoveries, by an actual demonstration of the power of steam in propelling boats. Although my informant was a gentleman of great accuracy in his knowledge of whatever he attempted to impart, and was, in his narrative of the conversation he held with Mr. Fitch, particular as to dates and persons, my mind does not enable me to speak precisely of the date of Fitch's return to America, but the impression on my mind is, that he could not have spent more than one or two years in Europe.

On his return he was wholly destitute of means himself, but was supplied by Mr. Bingham with money to build a boat, which he did and put into the water of the Delaware, at Philadelphia. The first experiment on this boat was made, I think, in the year 1785 or 1786. It run very well from Philadelphia to Bordentown. But on the return of the boat the machinery, in some part, gave way, which gave rise to the opinion that the scheme was a visionary one. But Fitch set diligently to work to repair the machinery that gave way, and to make considerable alterations in his boat, which again called for advances from his patron. After he had completed his machinery so as to make another experiment, he fixed a day and gave notice; and, in the presence of thousands of spectators, among whom were members of congress, was witnessed the second departure of his boat for Bordentown. The boat left the wharf in good style, with many

passengers on board, and so again reached Bordentown. But on her return a part of her machinery again gave way. This failure seems to have exhausted the patience and liberality of Mr. Fitch's patron, Mr. Bingham, and poor Fitch was left without a friend to second his zeal and confidence in the power of steam, to overcome the currents of our rivers. His scheme and himself were now both derided, and he, for a while, yielded to a melancholy desperation, brought on his mind from a full persuasion that he had effected all the world ought to desire, to satisfy scepticism itself, of the power and capability of steam and of its adaptation to the propelling of boats on rivers; and yet, that he had scarce made a convert to his discovery, and, that even his only patron, in despair of the practicable use of his invention, had discarded him.

In this period of his despondency, Mr. Fitch bethought himself, that it was possible that the late John Brown, then a member of congress, from the state of Virginia, and that part of it which now constitutes the state of Kentucky, would aid him, either through his credit or means, more fully to satisfy an incredulous world of the practicability and great utility of his discovery. He, therefore, early one morning (as Mr. Brown informed me) entered his room, while congress sat in Philadelphia, and introduced himself as "John Fitch, inventor of steam-boats, to John Brown, member of congress, from the district of Kentucky in Virginia," which very extraordinary salutation was, by Mr. Brown, politely returned with an invitation to Mr. Fitch to be seated, when Mr. Fitch informed him of the facts and circumstances attending his discovery and experiments, in substance as I have related them, and concluded by saying, "Sir, I *have* discovered and tested my discovery by actual experiments, what will be to the whole union of vast importance, and to that part of it which you represent of incalculable value. I have demonstrated to the world, in the experiments I have made, enough to satisfy the most incredulous, of the utility and importance of my discovery, but I cannot get capitalists to assist me in making *such* practicable and useful demonstrations as will convince the country, that as a matter of profit, capitalists should take up at once, the business of navigating our rivers with steam. With four hundred dollars more, I can accomplish whatever I desire to do, to remove all prejudices and enlist friends to my invention, and I have called on you this morning, as one, whose constituents are most deeply and vitally interested in the success of my scheme, to attain from you that sum." To this request Mr. Brown replied *truly*, that he himself was a man without capital or fortune, and that he was unable to grant the request. On

which Fitch, after an apparent pause on the course to be then adopted, with some displeasure remarked, "Then, sir, I will abandon my object, but I shall go into the office of the secretary of state and record that I, John Fitch, inventor of steam-boats, have this day applied to you, John Brown, member of congress from Kentucky, for four hundred dollars to enable me to complete my invention of steam-boats, which you have denied me. That it may remain there in *perpetua rei memoria*, that in all time it may be known, when others shall (profiting from my labors) carry into practice steam-boat navigation, that I have been deprived of the reward due to my invention, for the want of the paltry sum I have asked you for." Mr. Brown informed me that Fitch left him then, abruptly, and he never saw him again.

It turned out that while Mr. Fitch was in Europe, that Mr. Rumsey built a small boat, not sufficient to carry a man, and by the application of steam propelled it on some stream, perhaps Quantico creek, a branch of the Potomac river, and claimed the priority of invention. This gave rise to a fierce quarrel between Fitch and Rumsey, each publishing their claims and statements to the world, in pamphlet form. My father had both pamphlets, which I read when a boy, but my mind is not impressed with even the substance of those pamphlets, so as to enable me to state them satisfactorily. In the winter of 1813–14, at Washington, I met with the late Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, then a member of congress, who informed me that he had been counsel for the defendant in a suit brought by Fulton, and perhaps Livingston, founded on a claim of Mr. Fulton as the inventor of steam-boat navigation; that he had, before he left home, fortunately laid his hand on John Fitch's pamphlet, containing a drawing and description of his boat, and method of applying steam to propel it, and that on reaching New York and comparing the drawings of Fulton and Fitch, he was satisfied that both the principle and machinery were the same, with some slight variations, such as, that instead of the fly-wheel of Fulton, Fitch's had paddles, but worked upon the same principle that Fulton's wheel did in the application of steam. That after minutely comparing the respective drafts of Fitch and Fulton, he submitted them to the counsels of Fulton, who took them until next morning to consider whether they would proceed with the suit; and that on the next morning, they returned into court and dismissed the suit. Mr. Stockton went on to say, that he could not doubt that Fulton had availed himself of Fitch's discoveries, not only from the identity of principle and much of the machinery, but from facts connected with the inventions of both, of which he had a

personal knowledge. After Mr. Fitch's interview with Mr. Brown, he returned to Kentucky, with a view, no doubt, to realize something out of his pre-emption; but he found that covered with adverse claims, and in possession of wealthy and influential occupants; so that, until he *ousted* them by law, he was, measurably, without the means of commanding the necessaries of life. His title proved the best, but the heavy expenses which a long litigation involed him in, and the low prices of lands then in Kentucky, left him but little to hope for by way of support. He, at this period, seems to have become desperate, and to have taken the fatal relief to his mind of habitual intoxication, for when his tract of land was reduced to three hundred acres, he made a bargain with a tavern-keeper, to give him one half of it, if he would board him while he lived, allowing him one pint of spirits each day!! He afterwards increased the quantity of land on condition of an increase of liquor. I have seen and read a copy of the records. To this the tavern-keeper agreed, which soon terminated his existence. He died, and was interred in the public burial grounds of the village of Bardstown, in this state. To his latest existence, I have heard, he never failed to complain of the injustice the world had done him, in not patronizing his invention, and would often say, that when the world was wiser, it would profit from his labors. Yours, &c.,

ROBERT WICKLIFFE.

Perhaps nothing will show the rapidity of improvement in the west and south-west, more strikingly, than the contemplation of its steam-boat navigation. The first trip performed from New Orleans to Louisville and Pittsburgh, was in May, 1815; the second and third trips in 1817.

In the Louisville Advertiser of October 11th, 1841, we find a list of three hundred and sixty-nine steam-boats, all navigating the western and south-western waters, exclusive of those of Texas; their names, tonnage, where and when built, all given. Their aggregate tonnage over 50,000 tons!! Supposing we had 5,000 miles of good turnpike, in place of the streams navigated by those boats, allowing two tons to the wagon, it would require 25,000 wagons to hold the loads of these boats! As we may set down the speed of steam-boats, running night and day, at ten times that of wagons, it would require 250,000 wagons to transport the shipments of the west, or a wagon on every 106 feet of road, for five thousand miles! Consider this and the constant travel, besides thousands of stages to convey steam-boat passengers; and consider how much goes and comes by way of the lakes; the Pennsylvania canal; the Pennsylvania, Cumberland, and other roads, in wagons, on the hoof, &c., and, also, what thousands of tons descend the Mississippi river, in flat boats, and we may well be surprised at the growth of the west, and say its history should be minutely written.

SIGNIFICATION OF HOCKHOCKING AND WHEELING.

Columbus, Thursday evening, December 16, 1841.

Dear Sir—I have just seen Mr. John Brittle; I found him well supplied with legendary lore, and ready to communicate. I hasten to give you his narrative in my words briefly, fearing that a more elaborate narrative would occupy too much time, and thus be too late for this the first number of the Pioneer; for I know that you drive things at their utmost speed, and will not stop for trifles. But to the subject.

John Brittle, formerly of Pennsylvania, was taken prisoner by the Delaware Indians, in 1791, and lived nearly five years among them. He lived with *Hwhinguy-pooshies* or *Big Cat*, most of this time, and from him learned the origin of the name of Hockhocking creek. It is this:

Hock-hock-ing signifies in the Indian tongue, a *bottle* or jug, or a wooden canteen, or any such vessel used for holding liquids, but properly a bottle. About six or seven miles north-west of Lancaster, there is a fall in the Hockhocking of about twenty feet; above the fall, for a short distance, the creek is very narrow and straight, forming a neck, while at the falls it suddenly widens on each side and swells into the appearance of the body of a bottle. The whole, when seen from above, appears exactly in the shape of a bottle; and from this fact the Indians called the creek Hockhocking.

I have also learned from him the origin of the name of that flourishing city, WHEELING. It was originally called *Weeling*, which signifies the place of a head. But Mr. Brittle's legend will better explain how this is.

In the earliest period of the settlement of Pennsylvania, some white settlers descended the Ohio river in a boat, and, stopping at the mouth of Wheeling creek, were killed by the Delawares. The savages cut off the head of one of their victims, and placing it on a pole with the face towards the river, called the spot *Weeling*. The Indians informed Mr. B. that the head was placed there to guard the river; I presume to guard the camp from the incursions of the whites.

Mr. B. says, that if an Indian were asked, after shooting a deer or a bear, where he had hit the animal, his answer (if in the head) would be "*weeling*".

Indian cure for the bite of a rattlesnake, or any other poisonous reptile.—Wash the part bitten instantly with water or any other liquid. Nothing more is necessary.—This is also from Mr. Brittle; he has seen it tried. Yours, respectfully, JNO. WHITE

[For the American Pioneer.]

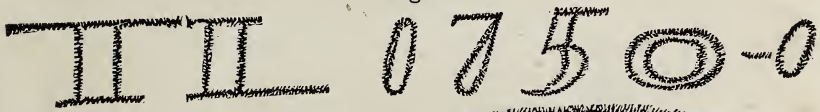
ANCIENT DATE DISCOVERED.

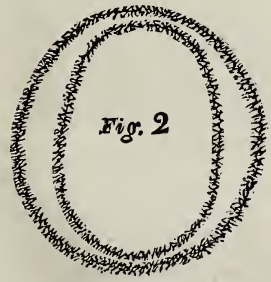
Bainbridge, November 23, 1841.

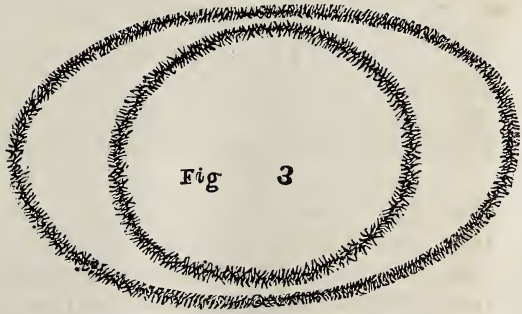
Mr. Jno. S. Williams, Sir—Below I give you a draft of what appears to be some very old lettering on a beech, near Paint creek, called, by the Indians, Yoctangee. The letters and figures are T. L. 1750-1. The tree stands about one quarter of a mile south of the great falls of said creek, and about half way from the falls to several ancient mounds and fortifications. The letters and figures have grown out of shape by the growth of the tree, and they bear other marks of their great age, so as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who see them that the date is genuine; and now the question is, who was T. L? The letters occupy a distance of three feet four inches around the tree, which at that point (four feet six inches from the ground) is six feet six inches in girt. The tree is sixty-five feet high; it stands on a flat beech bottom, with many other trees of the same kind near it. On another beech, a little to the north, are the letters F. A. M., A. F., Y. P., all bearing marks of great age, but no date appears near them. In the first group the A is over the F and M, agreeably to the ancient manner of lettering the name of husband and wife; A standing for the surname. The description and measurement of the letters I hope will enable you to give a cut of them in the Pioneer, so that, if possible, we may get to know what white men were here ninety-one years ago. Yours,

D. C. CARSON.

Fig. 1.







Subsequently to the reception of the above letter, I received one from Mr. John Smith of the same place, giving an account of another beech—say one

hundred and fifty yards south-west of the above described—which also had on it T. L. 1750-1, over which are the letters A: M', and under it F. E. very plain, and something like a D, which would make F. E. D. Near these, to the left, 1. Nov., all in very ancient lettering.

Feeling a considerable degree of interest in the truth or falsity of the above date, I visited the spot, in company with Mr. Carson and Smith, and found things as they had been described. From the appearance of the letters, their shape, and also from the ancient manner of dating, viz. 1750-1, I was convinced that the date was genuine. To satisfy ourselves, we selected another tree of the size and appearance as that described by colonel Carson—say one hundred feet from it—and cut through ninety-one years growth. It took five and three-fourth inches in thickness, which would leave the tree over one foot in diameter at the time the date was put on. Another tree of about the same size was cut down, and in that the growth of ninety-one years was six inches, the entire age of the tree one hundred and forty, showing that it grew more in the first fifty years than it has done in the succeeding ninety-one years. The cut above, figure 1, is made from colonel Carson's draft, to a scale of ten to one. Figure 2, is half the size of the cypher as it was cut; and figure 3 is half its present size after spreading by the growth. Although these figures are well shaped and distinctly marked, they can be seen a small distance only. The outlines are plain, by a roughness of the bark, which, on the face of the letters and figures, is smooth and in color like that on the tree generally.

Any information respecting the persons who were among the Indians at the falls of Paint creek ninety-one years ago as prisoners or otherwise, would be thankfully received. Paint creek is a tributary of the Scioto river, west side. We have been particular in this subject, not only to ascertain who T. L. &c. were, but to encourage others to give us like information and investigations, from which might be gathered much useful historical knowledge.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

[*To be enlarged and indefinitely continued.*]

1492 October 12.—America discovered by Columbus.
1497 North America (Newfoundland) discovered by John Cabot.
1498 South America discovered by Columbus.
Land of the United States discovered by Sebastian Cabot.
1585 First colony attempted—failed the next year.
1587 Second attempt to colonize—failed also.
1604 First settlement of Canada by the French.
1607 First permanent settlement of the United States, at Jamestown, Va.
1614 New York settled by the Dutch; then called New Netherlands.
1620 One hundred and one pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Mass.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. FEBRUARY, 1842. NO. II.



[Columbia Baptist Church, constituted by Dr. Stephen Gano, in 1790.]

FIRST HOUSE OF WORSHIP IN OHIO.

James Given, Esq. furnished the sketch; and says, "It is just as it stood in 1830, even to the loose weatherboarding." The back side was much the most dilapidated. It was destroyed in about 1835. A history of this house, and a biographical sketch of the life of Dr. Stephen Gano, the first pastor in

it, are promised for, but unavoidably postponed to, a future number of the Pioneer. The following original poetry was handed to us for the Pioneer by major DANIEL GANO. Both of the above gentlemen have our sincere thanks.

ON VISITING THE OLD CHURCH AT COLUMBIA.

Near where the Ohio winds its lovely way
Through plains with flowers and herbage richly gay,
High on a green, luxuriant, sloping sod,
In ruinous mantle clad, stands the lone House of God!

A strange sensation thrilled across my breast,
As its drear aisle my wand'ring footsteps prest,
Its sound alone disturbed the pensive scene,
That spoke what it was then, and told what it had been!

The pulpit mould'ring nodded from the wall,
From which methought still rang the Watchman's call:
Some ancient seats in circles filled the space,
And seemed to say, "A choir has left this vacant place."

But 'tis not so:—here owls their vigils keep,
And driving winds in mournful murmurs sweep;
The bat rejoicing flits along the gloom:
All else is still, and calm, and tranquil as the tomb.

Where are those eyes that traced those sacred lines,
Where truth, where majesty, and beauty shines?
Where are those hearts that have with fervor glowed,
When o'er Death's vale they viewed the Christian's blest abode?

Where is the choir, that here so sweetly sang
The song of praise to God, and peace to man?
Methinks, returning through the lapse of years,
I hear their anthem notes soft stealing on my ears.

Deep in the grave, around this falling pile,
They sweetly sleep, forgetful of their toil;—
Have fled, and left behind this loud appeal,
"All, all on earth must die—'tis Heaven's unchanging will!"

Then fare thee well!—perhaps my feet again
Shall never tread thy silent, bleak domain!
Yes, fare thee well!—for list'ning Solitude
Waits to resume her throne in dark and frowning mood.

Yet may the hand of Time long spare thy brow,
Though covered o'er with many a furrow now;
That generations yet to come may see
Some vestige left—some trace remaining still of thee.

Peace to the inmates that around thee sleep!
May angel bands their slumb'ring ashes keep,
Till Gabriel's trumpet rends the heaving clay,
And calls them forth to joys that never shall decay!

JOHN BRICKELL'S NARRATIVE.

The following narrative was written especially for the American Pioneer, the readers of which will doubtless peruse it with much attention. He was four years and nearly a half among the Delaware Indians. The character of the narrator stands high at Columbus, Ohio, where he has lived for the last forty-five years, being one of the very first settlers of that vicinity. Any one, we think, by conversing with him, will soon be convinced of the honesty of his intention and the goodness of his memory. Although quite young when taken prisoner, and a youth when he left the Indians, he is very clear as to many important facts; and being with them when they defeated St. Clair, and when defeated by Wayne, he is a witness from the other side of the line, which to us makes his narrative doubly interesting. The decision, care and minuteness with which the manners and customs of the Delawares are related, renders that part of the history valuable. We might say much more of this interesting narrative; but ours is the duty to collect and present, that of our patrons, to read and comment.

NARRATIVE OF JOHN BRICKELL'S CAPTIVITY AMONG THE DELAWARE INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

HIS CAPTURE AND JOURNEY.

Brickell's birth place and parentage—His capture—Meets with George Girty—Three days without food—Got among acquaintances and went to the Tuscarawas—Indians go to Pittsburgh on a trading expedition—Beaten by a drunken Indian—Runs the gauntlet—Is given to Whingwy Pooshies, who adopts him into his family.

I was born on the 24th of May, 1781, in Pennsylvania, near a place then known as Stewart's crossings of the Yohiogany river, and, as I suppose from what I learned in after life, about four miles from a place since called Beesontown, now Uniontown, in Fayette county. On my father's side I was of Irish, and on my mother's of German parentage. My father died when I was quite young, and I went to live with an elder brother on a pre-emption settlement, on the north-east side of the Alleghany river, about two miles from Pittsburgh.

On the breaking out of the Indian war, a body of Indians collected to the amount of about one hundred and fifty warriors, and spread up and down the Alleghany river about forty miles, and by a pre-concerted movement made an attack on all the settlements along the river for that distance in one day. This was on the 9th of February, 1791. I was alone, clearing out a fence row, about a quarter of a mile from the house, when an Indian came to me, and took my axe from me and laid it upon his shoulder along with his rifle, and then let down the cock of his gun, which it appears he had cocked in approaching me. I had been in habits of intimacy with the Indians,

and did not feel alarmed at this movement. They had been about our house almost every day. He took me by the hand and pointed the direction he wanted me to go; and although I did not know him, I concluded he only wanted me to chop something for him, and went without reluctance. We came to where he had lain all night, between two logs, without fire. I then suspected something was wrong, and attempted to run; but he threw me down on my face, in which position I every moment expected to feel the stroke of the tomahawk on my head. But he had prepared a rope with which he tied my hands together behind me, and thus marched me off.

After going a little distance we fell in with George Girty, son of old George Girty. He spoke English, and told me what they had done. He said, "White people had killed Indians, and that the Indians had retaliated, and now there is war, and you are a prisoner, and we will take you to our town and make an Indian of you; and you will not be killed if you go peaceably, but if you try to get away we won't be troubled with you, but we will kill you and take your scalp to our town." I told him I would go peaceably and give them no trouble.

From thence we traveled to the crossings of Big Beaver with scarce any food. These crossings are pretty high up, I suppose twenty or thirty miles from the mouth, and nearly in a line between Pittsburgh and New Philadelphia, on the Tuscarawas. We made a raft and crossed late in the evening, and lay in a hole of a rock without fire or food. They would not make a fire for fear we had attracted the attention of hunters in chopping for the raft.

In the morning the Indian who took me delivered me to Girty, and took another direction. Girty and I continued our course towards the Tuscarawas. We traveled all that day through hunger and cold, camped all night, and continued till about three in the afternoon of the third day since I had tasted a mouthful. I felt very indignant at Girty, and thought if ever I got a good chance I would kill him. We then made a fire, and Girty told me that if he thought I would not run away, he would leave me by the fire and go and kill something to eat. I told him I would not. "But," says he, "to make you safe I will tie you." He tied my hands behind my back, and tied me to a sapling some distance from the fire. After he was gone, I untied myself and laid down by the fire. In about an hour he came running back without any game. He asked me what I untied myself for? I told him I was cold. He said, "Then you no run away?" I said "No." He then told me there were Indians close by, and he was afraid they would find me.

We then went to their camp, where were Indians with whom I had been as intimate as with any person, and they had been frequently about our house. They were very glad to see me, and gave me food, the first I had tasted after crossing Beaver. They treated me very kindly. We staid all night with them, and next morning we all took up our march towards the Tuscarawas, which we reached on the second day late in the evening. Here we met the main body of hunting families and the warriors from the Alleghany, this being their place of rendezvous. I supposed these Indians all to be Delawares, but at that time I could not distinguish between the different tribes. Here I met with two white prisoners, Thomas Dick and his wife Jane. They had been our nearest neighbors. I was immediately led to the lower end of the encampment and allowed to talk freely with them for about an hour. They informed me of the death of two of our neighbors, Samuel Chapman and William Powers, who were killed by the Indians; one in their house and the other near it. The Indians showed me their scalps. I knew that of Chapman, having red hair on it.

Next day about ten Indians started back to Pittsburgh. Girty told me they went to pass themselves for friendly Indians, and to trade. Among these was the Indian who took me. In about two weeks they returned, well loaded with store goods, whisky, &c. After my return from captivity, I was informed that a company of Indians had been there trading, professing to be friendly Indians; and that being suspected, were about to be roughly handled, but some person in Pittsburgh informed them of their danger, and they put off with their goods in some haste.

After the traders came back the company divided, and those who came back with us to Tuscarawas, and the Indian who took me, marched on towards Sandusky. When we arrived within a day's journey of an Indian town, where Fort Seneca since stood, we met two warriors going to the frontiers to war. The Indian I was with had whisky. He and the two warriors got drunk, when one of the warriors fell on me and beat me. I thought he would kill me. The night was very dark, and I ran out into the woods and lay under the side of a log. They presently missed me, and got lights to search for me; the Indian to whom I belonged calling aloud, "White man! white man!" I made no answer; but in the morning, after I saw the warriors start on their journey, I went into camp, where I was much pitied on account of my bruises.

Next day we arrived within a mile of the Seneca town, and encamped for the night, agreeably to their manner, to give room for

their parade or grand entrance next day. That took place about eight in the morning. The ceremony commenced with a great whoop or yell. We were then met by all sorts of Indians from the town, old and young, men and women. We there called a halt, and they formed two lines about twelve feet apart, in the direction of the river. They made signs for me to run between the lines towards the river. I knew nothing of what they wanted, and started; but I had no chance, for they fell to beating me so that I was knocked down, and every thing that could get at me beat me, until I was bruised from head to foot. At this juncture a very big Indian came up, and threw the company off me, and took me by the arm, and led me along through the lines with such rapidity that I scarcely touched the ground, and was not once struck after he took me till I got to the river. Then the very ones who beat me the worst were now the most kind and officious in washing me off, feeding me, &c., and did their utmost to cure me. I was nearly killed, and did not get over it for two months. My impression is that the big Indian who rescued me was Captain Pipe, who assisted in burning Crawford. The Indian who owned me did not interfere in any way.

We staid about two weeks at the Seneca towns. My owner there took himself a wife, and then started with me and his wife through the Black swamp towards the Maumee towns. At Seneca I left the Indians I had been acquainted with near Pittsburgh, and never saw or heard of them afterwards. When we arrived at the Auglaise river, we met with an Indian my owner called brother, to whom he gave me, and I was adopted into his family. His name was Whingwy Pooshies, or Big Cat. I lived in his family from about the first week in May, 1791, till my release in June, 1795.

CHAPTER II.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS.

Indian hunting and cultivation—Description of their cabin and manner of sleeping—Division of labor—The training of children—Their civility—Their morality—Their religious ceremonies—Their family worship—Their general character.

While living in the family of Whingwy Pooshies, I had every opportunity of observing their manners, customs and religion, as well as becoming an expert hunter. I lived as comfortably with them as the circumstances of the nation would admit. They treated me very kindly and in every way as one of themselves. My employment was mostly hunting. Our home for the summer was on the Auglaise, but in the winter we took hunting excursions on the branches of the Scioto, the Hockhocking, Licking and Jonathan's creek. We cultivated about seven acres of corn. We kept it under no fence except

some poles and brush. We never fenced against hogs, for there were none. We kept the few cattle and horses we had on high grounds, where there was abundance of food for them, and they very rarely troubled the corn fields.

Our cabin was of round logs, like those of the first settlers, except the roof was of bark and it had no floor. It consisted of a single room with a French made chimney of cat-and-clay. The door was made of hewed puncheons. We had nothing more like bedsteads than forks driven in the earth, from which there were cross-pieces to holes in the walls, and lengthwise on these was laid bark in large slips: upon these were laid skins, which completed the sleeping accommodations. On going to bed the men pull off all but their breeching, and the women all but their shrouds; and the clothes thus pulled off were put under the head and served for pillows. They are not very regular in going to bed, but in general are very early risers, especially the young. They almost uniformly sleep singly on their bunks, even small children. The men and their wives, and mothers with their infants, making almost the only exception.

The squaws do nearly all the labor except hunting. They take care of the meat when brought in, and stretch the skins. They plant and tend the corn; they gather and house it, assisted by young boys not yet able to hunt. After boys are at the hunting age, they are no more considered as squaws, and are kept at hunting. The men are faithful at hunting; but when at home lie lazily about, and are of little account for any thing else, seldom or never assisting in domestic duties. Besides the common modes, they often practice candle hunting, and for this they sometimes make candles or tapers when they cannot buy them. Deer come to the rivers to eat a kind of water grass, to get which they frequently immerse their whole head and horns. They seem to be blinded by light at night, and will suffer a canoe to float close to them. I have practiced that kind of hunting much since I came to live where Columbus now is, and on one occasion killed twelve fine deer in one night.

The Delawares are the best people to train up children I ever was with. They never whip, and scarce ever scold them. I was once struck one stroke, and but once while a member of the family, and then but just touched. They are remarkably quiet in the domestic circle. A dozen may be in one cabin, of all ages, and often scarcely noise enough to prevent the hearing of a pin fall on a hard place. Their leisure hours are, in a great measure, spent in training up their children to observe what they believe to be right. They often point out bad examples to them and say, "See that bad man; he is despis-

ed by every body; he is older than you: if you do as he does, every body will despise you by the time you are as old as he is." They often point to good examples as worthy of imitation, such as braves and honest men. I know I am influenced to good, even at this day, more from what I learned among them, than what I learned among people of my own color. Well might Jefferson say, "The principles of their society forbid all compulsion."

Honesty, bravery and hospitality, are cardinal virtues with them. Let a man prove himself remiss in either of these respects, and he will soon find he has no business with that people. If a man proves to be cowardly the finger of scorn is soon pointed at him, and he hears "Squaw!" pronounced. In that way they turn a strong current of public sentiment against all commissions or omissions of their moral and religious code. In respect to hospitality and neighborly kindness, they set a good example for any people to follow. It may be truly said of them, in the language of Logan, "When did ever a white man enter an Indian cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat?" When a company of strangers or travelers come to a town and encamp, they are not asked if they want any thing, but a runner starts through the town proclaiming that strangers have arrived. On this intelligence every family cooks of the best they have, and take to the strangers, for which there is no thought of a charge being made, or any thing given in return. If they want to be helped on their way, every possible assistance is granted them in the same benevolent spirit.

Their rules and traditions forbid any indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes; and I believe as respects the crimes of fornication and adultery they are the most strictly chaste and virtuous people on earth. They worship the Great Spirit, whom they call Manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all-strength, or rather all-sufficiency. They never used that name irreverently on one occasion when I was with them. They have no terms in their language by which they can swear profanely; and if they ever do it, it must be by means of phrases learned of white men. Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents. They do not covet each others goods, nor intentionally make a false accusation against any one that I ever knew.

They have no observance of particular days, and hence nothing like a sabbath. Excepting this, and the total neglect of the Jewish customs of circumcision, they are remarkably near the Jewish rites and ceremonies in their traditionary rules. (This I did not know till, after being released from my captivity, I learned it from the Bible.)

They have their regular feasts, such as the first corn that is fit to use is made a feast offering; and when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and every one eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up. They also follow the Jewish law in respect to things clean and unclean. I recollect no time that they eat of any thing forbidden to the Jews, excepting once we were near starvation, and I killed three rabbits and they eat of it, but with great reluctance. They never eat of catfish, eels, or any fish without scales; neither do they eat beasts or birds of prey.

As respects women, they are remarkably strict. At certain times the women have to seclude themselves entirely from company for days, and to wash themselves all over, and their whole apparel, before they return to company. I know of no marriage ceremony among them, and never heard of a case of separation and divorce. The parties themselves by mutual consent come together, without any interference or asking the consent of any one that I knew of. When the husband or wife dies, the widower or widow, especially the widow, goes into strict mourning, even to the clothes, say for about a year; after which they marry again.

In respect to public worship, they have none except such feasts as are mentioned. They frequently observe family worship, in which they sing and pray, but have nothing like preaching among them. They worship Manito very reverently. They believe in a resurrection after death, and in future rewards and punishments. They say all who do well will be happy, but those who do bad will be in a miserable condition. Their ideas on these points are remarkably clear and distinct.

Taking the manners, customs, rites, ceremonies, and the observance of whatever these people believe to be right for them to do or observe, they follow so closely in general, that as a nation they may be considered fit examples for many of us Christians to follow. They certainly follow what they are taught to believe right more closely, and I might say more honestly, in general, than we Christians do the divine precepts of our Redeemer. And will they not rise in judgment against many of us, and condemn us for our careless negligence in spiritual things? Should any object to these opinions of mine, and point to the cruel treatment of their enemies and often barbarous treatment of prisoners as proof to the contrary; I will answer, and say, consider their ignorant condition, and withal that they seem but to act out the Jewish precepts, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,

and blood for blood. I am strongly inclined to believe that their ideas of right and wrong, some how or other, descended from those laws.

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CHAPTER III.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT AND WAYNE'S VICTORY.

St. Clair's defeat and the spoils of the army—Conversed with several prisoners—Mrs. Dick stolen from the Indians—Anecdote of Choat's liberation—Indians flee before Wayne's army—One of the spies taken and shot—Wayne's battle and victory.

The fall after my adoption, there was a great stir in the town about an army of white men coming to fight the Indians. The squaws and boys were moved with the goods down the Maumee, and there waited the result of the battle, while the men went to war. They met St. Clair, and came off victorious, loaded with the spoils of the army. Whingwy Pooshies left the spoils at the town and came down to move us up. We then found ourselves a rich people. Whingwy Pooshies' share of the spoils of the army was two fine horses, four tents, one of which was a noble *markee*, which made us a fine house in which we lived the remainder of my captivity. He had also clothing in abundance and of all descriptions. I wore a soldier's coat. He had also axes, guns, and every thing necessary to make an Indian rich. There was much joy amongst them.

I saw no prisoners that were taken in that battle, and believe there were none taken by the Delawares. Soon after this battle another Indian and I went out hunting, and we came to a place where there lay a human skeleton stripped of the flesh, which the Indian said had been eaten by the Chippeway Indians who were at the battle, and he called them brutes thus to use their prisoners. During the time of my captivity I conversed with seven or eight prisoners taken from different parts, none of which were taken from that battle agreeably to my better impressions. One of the prisoners I conversed with was Isaac Patton by name, who was taken with Isaac Choat, Stacy, and others, from a blockhouse at the Big Bottom on the Muskingum. I lived two years in the same house with Patton. I think I saw Spencer once. I saw a large lad, who, if I recollect right, said his name was Spencer; he was with M'Kee and Elliot as a waiter, or kind of servant, and, if I remember right, he was at the rapids.

Patton told me an affecting anecdote about Isaac Choat's liberation. As Choat was sitting in a melancholy mood soon after he was taken prisoner, his owner asked him what made him look so sorry? He said he could not help it, as he was thinking how his wife and children got along without him, and how much they thought after him. The Indian looked around and said, "I have a squaw and two children, and I would look sorry too if I were taken prisoner and car-

ried away from them." The Indian then rose and put his hand on Choat's head, and said, "Choat, you shall not stay away from them, I will let you go; but I will not turn you out, or the Indians may catch you; I will go with you." Which word he made good by coming to the waters of the Muskingum with him, and then left him, telling him to go to his wife and children. After my liberation I found Patton at the mouth of Duck creek, near the Muskingum. He repeated the anecdote about Choat's liberation, and said he got safely to his family.

On one of our annual visits to the rapids to receive our presents from the British, I saw Jane Dick. Her husband had been sold, I understood, for forty dollars, and lived at Montreal. He was sold because he was rather worthless and disagreeable to the Indians. When I saw her she lived at large with the Indians. She became suddenly missing, and great search was made for her; but the Indians could not find her. After my release from captivity I saw her and her husband at Chillicothe, where she and her husband lived. She told me how she was liberated. Her husband had concerted a plan with the captain of the vessel who brought the presents, to steal her from the Indians. The captain concerted a plan with a black man, who cooked for M'Kee and Elliot, to steal Mrs. Dick. The black man arranged it with Mrs. Dick to meet him at midnight in a copse of underwood, which she did; and he took her on board in a small canoe, and headed her up in an empty hogshead, where she remained till the day after the vessel sailed, about thirty-six hours. I remember well that every camp and the woods were searched for her, and that the vessel was searched; for the Indians immediately suspected she was on board: but not thinking of unheading hogsheads, they could not find her. I saw the black man at Fort Hamilton as I returned from captivity, who told me how he stole Mrs. Dick off, which was in every particular confirmed by Mrs. Dick's own statement afterward. He also told me that there was a plan concerted between him and the captain to steal me off at the same time; "but," said he, "they watched you so close I could not venture it." This I knew nothing of until I was told by the black man, except that I observed the vigilance with which they watched me. They would not let me sleep alone as usual, nor even go to bring water without an Indian with me. It seems as if they were impressed with the idea of some manœuvring against them. Agreeably to my better impression, this happened the summer before Wayne's campaign.

In the month of June, 1794, three Indians, two men and a boy, and myself, started on a candle-light hunting expedition to Blanch-

ard's fork of the Auglaise. We had been out about two months. We returned to the towns in August, and found them entirely evacuated; but gave ourselves little uneasiness about it, as we supposed the Indians had gone to the foot of the Maumee rapids to receive their presents, as they were annually in the habit of doing. We encamped on the lowest island in the middle of a corn field. Next morning an Indian runner came down the river and gave the alarm whoop, which is a kind of yell they use for no other purpose. The Indians answered, and one went over to the runner and immediately returning told us the white men were upon us, and we must run for our lives. We scattered like a flock of partridges, and leaving our breakfast cooking on the fire. The Kentucky riflemen saw our smoke, and came to it, and just missed me as I passed them in my flight through the corn. They took the whole of our two months' work, breakfast, *jirk*, skins and all. One of the Kentuckians told me afterwards that they got a fine chance of meat that was left.

Wayne was then only about four miles from us, and the vanguard was right among us. The boy that was with us in the hunting expedition and I kept together on the trail of the Indians till we overtook them; but the two Indians did not get with us until we got to the rapids.

Two or three days after we arrived at the rapids, Wayne's spies came right into camp among us. I afterwards saw the survivors. Their names were Miller, M'Clenland, May, Wells, Mahaffy, and one other whose name I forgot. They came into the camp boldly and fired on the Indians. Miller got wounded in the shoulder; May was chased by the Indians to the smooth rock in the bed of the river, where his horse fell. He was taken prisoner and the rest escaped. They then took May to camp. They knew him; he had formerly been a prisoner among them and ran away from them. They told him, "We know you—you speak Indian language—you not content to live with us: to-morrow we take you to that tree, (pointing to a very large burr-oak at the edge of the clearing which was near the British Fort,) we will tie you up and make a mark on your breast, and we will try what Indian can shoot nearest it." It so turned out. The next day, the very day before the battle, they tied him up, made a mark on his breast, and riddled his body with bullets, shooting at least fifty into him. Thus ended poor May.

On the next day, being myself about six miles below with the squaws, I went out hunting. The day being windy I heard nothing of the firing of the battle, but saw some Indians on the retreat. One Indian whom I knew, told me I had better go to camp, for the In-

dians were beaten, and they are preparing at camp to make their escape. I went and found it as he described. The runners towards dusk came in, and said the army had halted and encamped. We then rested that night, but in great fear. Next morning the runners told us the army had started up the river towards the mouth of the Auglaise. We were then satisfied. Many of the Delawares were killed and wounded. The Indian who took May was killed; and he was much missed, for he was the only gunsmith among the Delawares.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIANS MAKE PEACE AND BRICKELL LIBERATED.

The Indians near starvation and their cattle and dogs die of milk-sickness—How to relieve it—They treat with the Americans and exchange nine prisoners—In the spring all go up to Fort Defiance, and Whingwy Pooshies gives Brickell his choice to go home or stay with him—Brickell chooses to go home and parts with Whingwy in tears—Indian names of creeks, &c.—Brickell starts home and is received with joy by his sister in Kentucky—Goes to his brother's near Pittsburgh, where he was again received joyfully—Settles in the neighborhood of what is now called Columbus, in 1797—Conclusion.

Our crops and every means of support being cut off above, we had to winter at the mouth of Swan creek, perhaps where Toledo now stands. We were entirely dependent on the British and they did not half supply us, and to make the matter worse, the shrub which causes the staggers in cattle grew abundantly in that neighborhood. The Indians knew it, and said in the fall while other vegetables were abundant that as soon as they failed their cattle would eat it and die, and then their dogs would eat of the cattle and they would all die too. This they said before it happened, and I saw the cows eating of it afterwards, and as the Indians expected, they began to die one after another—next the dogs died. I know the shrub whenever I see it, and am quite sure it will give the milk-sickness, as it is called, but cannot say but some mineral water may give it too or at least aid the leaves of the shrub. I showed the shrub to Mr. Renick, of the Scioto valley. He took some home, and, as I heard, fed a favorite calf with it, which killed it. The best and most simple, as well as effectual, cure or relief for the milk-sickness, is to take a chicken and boil it in water enough to leave half a gallon when the chicken is done; then let the patient drink constantly of that, without salt, and he will be relieved almost immediately.

The starving condition of the Indians, together with the prospect of losing all their cows and dogs, made the Indians very impatient, and they became exasperated at the British. They said they had been deceived by them, for they had not fulfilled one promise. It was concluded among them to send a flag to Fort Defiance in order to make a treaty with the Americans. This was successful. Our men

found the Americans ready to make a treaty, and they agreed on an exchange of prisoners. I had the pleasure to see nine white prisoners exchanged for nine Indians, and the mortification of finding myself left, there being no Indian to give for me. Patton, Johnston, Sloan and Mrs. Baker of Kentucky, were four of the nine, the names of the others I do not recollect. Patton, Johnston and Mrs. Baker had all lived with me in the same house among the Indians, and we were as intimate as brothers and sisters.

On the breaking up of spring we all went up to Fort Defiance, and on arriving on the shore opposite we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day Whingwy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort, and were seated with the officers, Whingwy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did; he then rose and addressed me in about these words, "My son, there are men the same color with yourself. There may be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you? if I have not used you as a father would use a son?" I said, "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He said, "I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word, but if you choose to stay with me your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind."

I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I thought of almost every thing. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people which I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, "I will go with my kin." The old man then said, "I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as on a staff. Now it is broken—you are going to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined." He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen nor heard of him since.

I learned the Delaware language well, and can speak it now about

as well as English. I will here give the Delaware names of a few streams and can at another time give more. Sepung is properly what we call a stream, there being no distinction into runs, creeks, and rivers, as with us. They called the Ohio, Whingwy Sepung or Big stream. Paint creek, in Ross county, I never heard called Yoctongee; but we called it Olomon Sepung or Paint creek. Secklic Sepung or Saltlick creek, what is now called Alum creek. Whingwy Mahoni Sepung or Biglick creek, or what we call Big-walnut creek. Keenhong-she-con Sepung or Whetstone creek, which is still its name. The Scioto we so called, but it is not a Delaware name, and I do not know its meaning.

It was about the first of June, 1795, that I parted with Whingwy Pooshies. The next day I started for Fort Greenville. I rode on a horse furnished by the Americans. I was under the charge and protection of lieutenant Blue, who treated me with every kindness, and, at Fort Greenville, had a good suit of clothes made for me by a tailor. We had been there about a week, when a company of men arrived from Cincinnati, among whom was a brother of my brother's wife, with whom I had lived and from whom I was taken. He told me of a sister I had who was married and lived about nine miles from Cincinnati, up Licking, on the Kentucky side. I then left Mr. Blue, at Fort Greenville, and went to my sister's. She and all the neighbors seemed to be overjoyed, and a great crowd collected to see me and hear about my living among the Indians.

I then went to Grant's saltworks, up Licking, to hunt for them. I made money there at killing deer at one dollar a piece, and turkeys at twelve and a half cents. I had nothing to do but shoot the deer down and dress it or help to do it, as they always kept hands along to carry in the meat, &c. I bought me a horse and had money left to take me to Pennsylvania. I went with a man named Andrew Lewis. There was great joy again at my brother's on my return to his house from whence I was taken. My sister-in-law, in particular, seemed much gratified with my return, as did the great crowd which here again collected to see me and to hear the narrative of my captivity.

In 1797, I came to this place, that is now Columbus, Ohio, and have resided here ever since, generally enjoying good health, never having cost a dollar in my life for medical aid, and without ever wearing any thing like a stocking inside of my moccasins, shoes or boots, from the time I went among them to this day; and I can say, what perhaps few can at this day, that my feet are never cold. At another time, the Lord granting the opportunity, I will give more of

the incidents of my life, as connected with the settlement and improvement of the country. One thing seemed remarkable. While among the Indians I often prayed to be released from my captivity and to live among a Christian people again, promising if the Lord would grant that blessing, I would make open profession of his name. Soon after my arrival in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, I thought the time had come, but my courage failed, and I prayed to be excused till I settled in the world. That prayer seemed to be granted; and, soon after I settled on the Scioto, the impressions that the time had come revived, with seemingly double force, and I was made to give up, and have from that time to this enjoyed the consolations of religion, which none can appreciate but those who have experience in it. Given under my hand, in the city of Columbus, O., this 29th day of January, 1842. JOHN BRICKELL.

EARLY ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT.

The following information received from the Hon. George Corwin, of Portsmouth, is truly acceptable. It embraces three subjects:—the difficulties of settling the country; the origin of the names of places; the great difficulty of milling in early times. All are worthy of a historical place Either of these subjects, by itself, when all is collected that we hope will be, would make a most interesting history. Should any person be able and send us a history of Robert Wood's old tub mill, near the mouth of Glenn's run, in Belmont county, and, if we mistake not, the first in those parts, it will especially gratify the editor, as being connected with his youthful associations. The first subject embraced in the following communication is indeed truly interesting and valuable.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams,—I send you the following account of an attempt that was made to settle the spot where Portsmouth now stands, as I received it from one of the first settlers of the country, who has gone to that country to which all the pioneers of the state of Ohio are hastening. It was perhaps the first attempt to settle the Scioto valley. The truth of the statement I never doubted. If, however, it should be incorrect in any particular, or might be corrected or made more full, it would be highly gratifying to me.

In April, 1785, four families from the Redstone settlement in Pennsylvania, descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto, and there moored their boat under the high bank where Portsmouth now stands. They commenced clearing the ground, to plant seeds for a crop to support their families, hoping that the red men of the forest

would suffer them to remain and improve the soil. They seemed to hope that white men would no longer provoke the Indians to savage warfare.

Soon after they landed, the four men, heads of the families, started up the Scioto to see the paradise of the West, of which they had heard from the mouths of white men who had traversed it during their captivity among the natives. Leaving the little colony, now consisting of four women and their children, to the protection of an overruling Providence, they traversed beautiful bottoms of the Scioto as far up as the prairies above, and opposite to where Piketon now stands. One of them, Peter Patrick by name, pleased with the country, cut the initials of his name on a beech, near the river, which being found in after times, gave the name of Pee Pee to the creek that flows through the prairie of the same name; and from that creek was derived the name of Pee Pee township in Pike county.

Encamping near the site of Piketon, they were surprised by a party of Indians, who killed two of them as they lay by their fires. The other two escaped over the hills to the Ohio river, which they struck at the mouth of the Little Scioto, just as some white men going down the river in a pirogue were passing. They were going to Port Vincennes, on the Wabash. The tale of wo which was told by these men, with entreaties to be taken on board, was at first insufficient for their relief. It was not uncommon for Indians to compel white prisoners to act in a similar manner to entice boats to the shore, for murderous and marauding purposes. After keeping them some time running down the shore, until they believed that if there were an ambuscade of Indians on shore, they were out of its reach, they took them on board and brought them to the little settlement; the lamentations at which cannot be described, nor its feeling conceived, when their peace was broken and their hopes blasted by the intelligence of the disaster reaching them. My informant was one who came down in the pirogue.

There was, however, no time to be lost, their safety depended on instant flight; and gathering up all their moveables, put off to Limestone, now Maysville, as a place of greater safety, where the men in the pirogue left them, and as my informant said, never heard of them more. If any of them are yet alive, or if any one can give intelligence of them, it would be thankfully received.

While on the subject of names, it may not be uninteresting to give you a narrative of the origin of the name of Miller's bank, on which was laid off the town of Jefferson, now called Piketon. About the year 1795, two parties set off from Mason county, Kentucky, to locate

land by making improvements, as it was believed the tract ceded to the United States, east of the Scioto, would be held by pre-emption. One of these parties was conducted by a Mr. Miller, and the other by a Mr. Kenton. In Kenton's company was a man by the name of Owens, between whom and Miller there arose a quarrel about the right of settling this beautiful spot. In the fray Owens shot Miller, whose bones may be found interred near the lower end of the high bank. His death and burial there, gave name to the high bank, which was then in Washington county, the Scioto being then the line between Washington and Adams counties. Owens was taken to Marietta where he was tried and acquitted.

As it seems to be your intention, in publishing the American Pioneer, to give posterity an idea how the country was settled and what shifts the pioneers were put to, I will give a kind of description of two mills I saw in operation in very early times. The first I shall describe was in Kentucky, at Limestone. It was made of timber, stone and buffalo hides: I am not sure there was any iron about it. It came not within the scope of things worshiped in idolatry, for it was like nothing else but itself, neither on the earth nor in the patent office. It was to grind corn into meal to make mush and johnny-cakes. It was constructed of round logs set in the ground to make them stand up. Over them a roof of bark, under which was an upright shaft turning on a wooden gudgeon or pivot. Over the horse, for it was a horse mill, extended arms from the upright shaft; and in these were holes like as you sometimes see in the arms of blades or swifts on which weavers put skeins of yarn to wind. In these holes were pins, over or around which was thrown a long buffalo hide tug, or rope, made by cutting hides round and round into long strips and twisting them. The different holes in the arms were for the purpose of tightening this tug, or band. From these arms the tug extended to and around the trundle to which the running stone was attached; and to prevent its slipping, the tug was crossed between the long arms and the trundle which was a short log with a groove cut round it. More effectually to prevent slipping, a bucket of tar was kept ready to daub it. Still it was with great difficulty that the mill could be kept going, even when the horses moved, and it was sure to stop when they did.

It required a man like Job to tend this mill, but the miller was not one of that temperament. He always seemed to doubt or distrust the performance of his machine, and to be continually on the lookout for some disaster or disappointment. I was once present when he got in a team of fractious horses, which broke his tug and otherwise de

ranged the parts of his mill, which made him exclaim, among other hard words, that such horses were enough to drive Satan out of hogs. After some time spent in repairs, for damages were apparently as easily repaired as the parts were liable to go out of order, our miller was again making headway with his grinding operation.

The other mill I saw in the year 1797 on the Scioto river. It was built on two large dug-outs or canoes, with a wheel placed between them. This mill, after being moved up or down, as the settlers at different stations needed its assistance in mashing corn, was tied to a tree in a rapid current, which running against the wheel between the canoes, turned the stones above, under a kind of umbrella made of bark. At a distance it had the appearance of a crane flying up the river. It made a sound, for the want of grease, like the creaking of a wooden cart. Were such a thing at this day in the Western Museum, it would draw more custom to it than any thing there, not excepting the "Infernal Regions," by which they jest in serious matters there. Notwithstanding all these properties in the mill and the difficulty of tending it, the miller, like many of his occupation even at this day, was accused of taking more than his share of the corn. The complaints were at first surmises—then whispers—afterwards common talk, and at last so loud as to attract the miller's attention. To clear himself of this slander, he told his customers that his mill ground so slow he could not afford to watch it. That his practice was to throw up a grist in the morning and go about other business till night. That through the day the crows, blackbirds and squirrels would come in for their share, which he was not bound to make up; and if they did not like that mode of doing business, they might go to the next mill, if they could find it. Should any doubt the truth of these anecdotes, it will be evidence that they know little about settling in a wilderness, and for their information these things are written. Yours truly.

ANECDOTES OF JESSE HUGHS.

Jenny's Camp, Darby, Jan. 14, 1842.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams:

Dear Sir,—You desired me to give you an account of an expedition against the Indians, in which Jesse Hughs acted so conspicuous a part. Hughs was bred up from his infancy in the hotbed of Indian warfare, in Harrison county, Virginia, on the head waters of the Monongahela river, in the village of Clarksburgh. He was a light built spare man, and remarkably active on foot, and from his

constant practice of hunting, he became one of the best woodsmen and Indian hunters of his day.

The following circumstance he related to me himself, and it has been fully corroborated since by Mr. Joseph Harness, who was in the expedition with him. The precise date of the transaction I do not recollect, but I think it was near 1790. The Indians, about that time, seldom did any other mischief in that neighborhood but steal horses. The Indians, generally, crossed the Ohio river above Marietta, and it was a dense forest from the Ohio to Clarksburgh, a distance of sixty or seventy miles. The settlement had been a considerable time without an Indian alarm. All were quiet on their farms. It happened one night a man heard the fence of a small lot, he had a horse in, fall; he jumped up and ran out, and saw an Indian spring on the horse and dash off. The whole settlement was alarmed in an hour or two, and they had a company of twenty-five or thirty men paraded, ready to start by daylight next morning. They took a circle round, outside of the settlement, and soon found the trail of apparently eight or ten horses, and, they supposed, about that many Indians. The captain called a halt, and held a council to determine in what manner to pursue them. The captain and a majority of the company were for pursuing them on their trail. Mr. Hughs was opposed to it, he said he could pilot them to the spot where the Indians would cross the Ohio, by a nearer way than the Indians could go, and if they could get there before the Indians, they could intercept them at the river and be sure of success. But the commander insisted on pursuing the trail. Mr. Hughs then tried another argument: he pointed out the danger in trailing the Indians. He insisted that the Indians would waylay their trail, in order to know if they were pursued, and would choose a situation where they could shoot two or three of them and set them at defiance, and then alarm the others; and the Indians, when alarmed, would out-travel them and make their escape. The commander found that Hughs was like to get a majority for his plan, and appeared to be jealous that if Hughs' plan was followed, he would lose the honor of planning the expedition. Hughs, by some, was considered too wild for the command, and it was nothing but jealousy kept him from it, for in most of their Indian excursions, Hughs got the honor of the best plan, or did the best act that was performed. The commander then broke up the council by calling aloud to the men to follow him and let the cowards go home, and dashed off full speed, and the men all followed him. Hughs knew the captain's remark was intended for him, and felt the insult in the highest degree, but he followed on with the rest. They had

not pursued many miles until the trail went down a drain where the ridge on one side was very steep, with a ledge of rocks for a considerable distance. On the top of the cliff two Indians lay in ambush, and when the company got opposite to them they made a noise of some kind, that caused the men to stop: that instant two of the company were shot and mortally wounded. They now found Hughs' prediction fully verified, for they had to ride so far round before they could get up the cliff, that the Indians made their escape with ease.

They then all agreed that Hughs' plan was the best, and urged him to pilot them to the Ohio river where the Indians would cross. He agreed to do it; but was afraid it was too late, for the Indians knew they were pursued and would make a desperate push. After leaving some of the company to take in the wounded men, they put off for the Ohio river, the nearest way they could go, and got there the next day about an hour after the Indians had crossed it. The water was yet muddy in the horses' trails, and the rafts that they crossed on were floating down the opposite shore. The company now was unanimous for returning home and giving up the pursuit. Hughs now got some satisfaction for the insult the captain gave him: he said he wanted to find out who the cowards were. He said that if any of them would go with him, he would cross the river and scalp some of the Indians. They all refused to go with him. He said if one man would go with him, he would undertake it; but he could not get one to consent. He then said he would go by himself, and take one of their scalps, or leave his own with them.

The company now started for home, and Hughs went up the river three or four miles, keeping out of sight of it, for he expected the Indians were watching them to see if they would cross. He there made a raft and crossed the river, and camped for the night. The next day he found their trail, and pursued it very cautiously, and about ten miles from the river he found their camp. There was but one Indian in it, the rest were all out hunting. The Indian was left to keep camp: in order to pass away the time, got to playing the fiddle on some bones that they have for the purpose. He was seated in his camp, singing and playing. Hughs crept up and shot him. He then took his scalp, and made the best of his way home.

JONA. RENICK.

Mr. Renick has kindly promised us more anecdotes of the exploits of Mr. Hughs. As a man of sagacity and quick perception, by which he seemed to anticipate all the artifices of the Indians, and to know the best mode of foiling them in their attempts, he had few equals, and certainly *very* few superiors. The following anecdote, which comes to us from a source which leaves no

doubt of its correctness, will show his keen perception and instantaneous arrangement of plans in a conspicuous light. There were many such heroic minds whose deeds are yet unsung.

At a time of great danger from the incursions of the Indians, in Virginia, when the citizens of the neighborhood were in a fort at Clarksburgh, Hughs, one morning, observed a lad very intently fixing his gun. "Jim," said he, "what are you doing that for?" "I am going to shoot a turkey that I hear gobbling on the hillside," said Jim. "I hear no turkey," said Hughs. "Listen," says Jim: "there, didn't you hear it? listen again." "Well," says Hughs, after hearing it repeated, "I'll go and kill it." "No you won't," says Jim, "it is my turkey; I heard it first." "Well," says Hughs, "but you know I am the best marksman; and besides, I don't want the turkey, you may have it." The lad then agreed for Hughs to go and kill it for him. Hughs went out of the fort on the side that was farthest from the supposed turkey, and taking along the river, went up a ravine and came in on the rear; and, as he expected, he espied an Indian sitting on a chestnut stump, surrounded by sprouts, gobbling, and watching to see if any one would come from the fort to kill the turkey. Hughs crept up behind him, and shot him, before the Indian knew of his approach. He took off the scalp and went into the fort, where Jim was waiting for his prize. "There now," says Jim, "you have let the turkey go. I would have killed it if I had gone." "No, " says Hughs, "I didn't let it go;" and, taking out the scalp, threw it down. "There, take your turkey, Jim, I don't want it." The lad was overcome, and nearly fainted, to think of the certain death he had escaped, purely by the keen perception and good management of Mr. Hughs.

ERRORS CORRECTED.

The following letter is just such in kind that we feel gratified with and thankful for. It shows, in a clear light, the great utility of collecting the history of this great, this varied, and this important republic, into a magazine, which, by its returns, presents frequent opportunities of correcting errors. No matter by whom mistakes are made, or of what kind they be, or under what authority, they should be corrected. We are all continually liable to make mistakes, and that without intending it. We thank our friend. He has modestly concealed his name under his family initial. We hope he will often favor us with contributions, and under his proper name. He has been long and favorably known to those who know any thing about the history of Ohio, which cannot be well and minutely written, without its being in it.

The fact he narrates is important, and fixes the date of the landing of the families at Marietta. The error he mentions was typographical; it should have been April 7th instead of August 7th, as printed in some copies; and also on the same page, in some copies, John instead of Benjamin Stites, ap-

pears; as also on page 38, Brickell was, by mistake, spelled Brittle. April 7th, 1788, was the day on which "general Rufus Putnam, and some others, *without their families*, landed and commenced improvements." Our correspondent has added an important date to our chronology, and we trust this will not be the last. Can we not get a particular account of that early celebration?

FIRST LANDING OF FAMILIES AT MARIETTA

Mr. Jno. S. Williams,—Observing the intimation of your wish for the correction of errors which may occur in articles published in the Pioneer,—and having noticed a fact of the kind, though of no great consequence, in page 24, of the first number, under the head of "Territorial Chronology," to put the matters referred, in the order of time in which they occurred, and to add some particulars which you may deem worth preserving, this note is addressed. Under that head is the following:

"1781—August 7.—Marietta settled by Rufus Putnam and associates.

July 9.—Governor St. Clair and judges arrived at Fort Harmer.

July 15.—The governor, by proclamation, organized the territorial government.

July 26.—Washington county erected, &c."

These three occurrences, of July 9th, 15th and 26th, are, I believe, correctly dated,—and they all occurred in the same year, but subsequently to the settlement of Marietta, stated as above to be in August. On the 2d of July, 1788, there arrived at Marietta, general Edward Tupper and family, consisting of four persons; major Asa Coborn and family, eight; major Nathan Goodale and family, twelve; major Nathaniel Cuishen and family, eight; Mr. Johabod Nie and family, four; in all forty-one persons.

They started together from Worcester county, in Massachusetts, in wagons, and in eight weeks arrived at Wheeling, on the Ohio. From thence they all came, with their teams, wagons and furniture, in *one* Kentuck boat to the point of destination. They landed at the mouth of Muskingum, on the Marietta side, on the second of July, as above stated; and, on the 4th, by invitation, went over to Fort Harmer, to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence.

Two cabins, and one log house only, were then under roof, in Marietta. More were preparing, and soon made tenantable.

General Rufus Putnam, and some others, *without their families*, had come on, many months in advance of the families above named, and commenced improvements.

General Harmer, who commanded the fort below the mouth of

Muskingum, had his family with him, as had some of the soldiers of the garrison, before the families came to Marietta.

How welcome, how animating to the families, must have been the transition from the fatigues and dangers of a journey of many hundred miles, over continuous rough ways, through the rude, rocky passages of the Alleghany mountains, and, at last, stowed away in a crowded, rough boat, on the Ohio, when, on the second day after their arrival, they were called to join in the heart-warming scenes, awakened by the return of their nation's birthday, in the charming country selected for their permanent residence, then in peace and security! K.

January 24th, 1842.

LOGAN AND CRESAP.

As the intention is to advance the truth and justice of history, we should not omit stating that no doubt exists but that Logan, in his speech to lord Dunmore, either confounded the titles of colonel with that of captain, or he was mistaken in the person who commenced the series of outrages in which his relatives were killed. In the testimony of general Gibson, page 18, it is distinctly stated, that, at the time Logan delivered the speech to Gibson, he (Gibson) told Logan "that it was not colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son, captain Michael Cresap, was with the party who killed a Shawanese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's bottom." Turn to the testimony of Ebenezer Zane, page 12, and there it will be seen that it was "*captain Michael Cresap* who made the proposition to waylay and kill the Indians on the river." Unless there were relatives of Logan killed above or below Wheeling, the Cresap family were certainly clear of having any hand in it; and *colonel* Cresap, the father, was not implicated in any of the outrages. Knowing as he did this fact, general Gibson should have corrected the speech, unless Logan objected to it, which does not appear in the evidence.

That Logan's relations were killed at Baker's bottom, on Yellow creek, and not at Wheeling, or Grave creek, we think clear, from the note tied to the war-club; see page 18. In that note it will also be seen that *captain*, and not *colonel* Cresap, was the person implicated by Logan himself. If, in the speech, the title of captain, and not colonel, had been used in connection with the name of Cresap, nothing would have been materially wrong; for although none of the Cresap family committed any outrage upon Logan, or his family, yet as the son was accessary to the first outrage, upon which followed the murder of Logan's relations, that name was not improperly used to represent the white men who committed the series of hostilities, in which his relations were killed. But at this day nothing should lie against the Cresap family, in particular, on account of it.

NAVIGATION BY STEAM.

In our first number, page thirty-one, we took up this subject, in an endeavor to do justice to departed worth, and to show the rapid improvement of the country. We propose to continue it. We are sometimes lost in amazement when we contemplate what has been effected by it, and the extent to which it is likely to contribute, not only to the growth and prosperity of the West, to which it has been singularly beneficial, and to the whole Union, but to the world at large. It is doing that which could not have been done without it, or some equally efficient improvement, not only here but elsewhere. The annihilation of distance, by water, is almost complete; the broad Atlantic is converted into a ferry, and the Indies are like to become our near neighbors! Such is the alteration along the once still and silent shores of the Ohio, that we sometimes almost feel a rising doubt whether we are in the same region in which we were in our youthful days; and it is not here alone, but every where, that the influence of the power of steam is felt.

It is too frequently the case that cotemporaries rebuke, with cold neglect, those who spend their all in bringing into use the greatest improvements: and, it sometimes happens, that posterity is slow to award them their just meed of praise.

In the subject of steam navigation, it was our intention next to have presented a view of the claims of James Rumsey; but, since the publication of our last, we have had the high gratification to become personally acquainted with the Hon. Edward Rumsey, of Kentucky. He has promised us a letter, and other documents, on the subject, which we have not received. Relying on him for information respecting his uncle, we will pass on to Oliver Evans

Of this persevering and ill requited pioneer in the use of steam-power, we cannot do better, at present, than to quote from the same writer as above, who says:

"In the year 1801, Oliver Evans made, at Philadelphia, an experiment of a most remarkable character. In the year 1772, Evans, being an apprentice to a wagon maker in Pennsylvania, endeavored to discover some means of propelling land carriages without the use of animals; but after considerable study, he abandoned his attempt for the want of a suitable original power. A short time after this attempt, one of his brothers gave him an account of the effect of steam, which he had seen performed by a blacksmith's boy, by putting a little water into a tight gun-barrel with a wad over it. The gun-barrel was then put into the forge fire, when, in a little while, it blew out the wad, with as loud a crack as if fired with gunpowder. His mind recurred, during the description, to his favorite subject, and he immediately thought that here was the power for his carriages, if he could only apply it. A work containing an account of an old atmospheric engine falling into his hands also, about this time, caused him to re-

new his studies with increased ardor, and he soon declared that he could make steam-wagons, and had satisfied himself of their practicability by experiment.

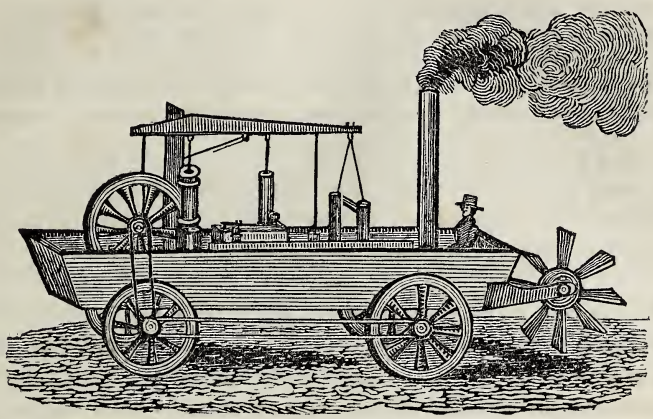
"In 1786, he petitioned the legislature of Pennsylvania for an exclusive right to use his improvement in flour mills and steam-wagons in that state. They granted his petition as far as it related to flour mills, but took no notice of his steam-wagons, as on this point they believed him to be insane. The act is dated March, 1787.

"His next application was to the legislature of Maryland, to whom he explained his ideas in regard to steam-wagons, and by describing the great elastic power of steam, endeavored to show them the ease of reducing his principles to practice. The committee to whom it was referred, would probably have refused his petition as visionary, if Mr. Jesse Hollingsworth, of Baltimore, had not prudently observed, that as the grant could injure no one, he hoped the encouragement would be afforded, and there was a possibility of producing something useful. A favorable report was accordingly made, May 21, 1787, granting to him, his heirs, or assigns, for fourteen years, the exclusive right to use his improvement in flour mills and steam-wagons, in that state.

"Being now secured in his right, in 1789, he endeavored to induce Benjamin Chandlee and sons, clock makers, men celebrated for their ingenuity, to join in the expense and profits of the project; but fearful of the difficulties attending it, they declined the concern. They, however, certified that he had shown his drawings and explained his ideas to them. In the same year he went to Ellicott's mills, near Baltimore, for the purpose of persuading Messrs. Jonathan Ellicott and brothers, to join him in the introduction of steam-wagons. They readily comprehended his ideas and drawings, having tried some experiments themselves on the power of steam, but fearing the difficulty of the execution, they also declined the proposition. He also communicated his proposition to Mr. Levi Hollingsworth, merchant, of Baltimore, but he declined a partnership for the same reasons as the former. He afterwards endeavored to interest others in the merits and practicability of his schemes, but could find no one willing to risk the expense of the experiment.

"About the year 1800, not having found any one willing to contribute to the expense, or even to encourage him to risk it himself, it occurring to him also that he had not yet discharged his debt of honor to Maryland by producing a steam-wagon, he determined to construct one immediately. He first waited upon Robert Patterson, Esq., Prof. of mathematics in the university of Pennsylvania, and explained to him his views, as he also did to Mr. Charles Taylor, steam-engineer from England; they both declared the principle new to them, and highly worthy of a fair experiment, and advised him earnestly to prove them. These were the only persons to whom he applied, who had any confidence in his undertaking. In consequence of the above determination, he commenced building his steam-wagon, and had made considerable progress, when the idea occurred to him, that as his steam-engine was entirely different in form, as well as in principle, from those in common use, he could procure a patent for it, and ap-

ply it to mills more profitably than to wagons. He accordingly discharged his workmen, tried experiments, and procured a patent; he then applied his engine to flour mills, grinding plaster of Paris, sawing marble, and other purposes where such a power was required.



[Evans' Steam Engine.]

"In 1804, he constructed at his works, situated a mile and a half from the water, by order of the board of health of the city of Philadelphia, a machine for cleansing docks. He thus describes the experiment: 'It consisted of a large flat, or scow, with a steam-engine of the power of five horses on board, to work machinery to raise the mud into flats. This was a fine opportunity to show the public that my engine could propel both land and water carriages, and I resolved to do it. When the work was finished, I put wheels under it, and though it was equal to the weight of two hundred barrels of flour, and the wheels fixed to wooden axletrees, for this temporary purpose, in a very rough manner, and with great friction of course, yet with this small engine I transported my great burthen to the Schuylkill with ease; and when it was launched in the water, I fixed a paddle-wheel in the stern, and drove it down the Schuylkill to the Delaware, and up the Delaware to the city, leaving all the vessels going up, behind me, at least half way, the wind being ahead. Some wise men undertook to ridicule my experiment of propelling this great weight on land, because the motion was too slow to be useful. I silenced them by observing, that I would make a carriage to be propelled by steam, for a bet of $3000, to run upon a level road against the swiftest horse they could produce, I was so confident that such velocity could be given to carriages.'

"He labored to induce the proprietors of several of the turnpikes to introduce steam-carriages upon their roads, but did not succeed. In 1805, he published a work describing the principles of his steam-engine, with directions for working it in boats against currents, and carriages on common roads, and states his willingness to make a carriage to run upon a railway, or level road, fifteen miles in an hour, on condition that he should have double price if it should come up to

that velocity, and nothing if it should fall short, and concludes by asking what more a man can do to test his invention than to ensure its performance?

"This was his last attempt to call the attention of the public to his steam-carriages, yet notwithstanding his experiments, and his promises, the call was neglected, and unable to incur the expense himself, the acts securing to him the right to use them were rendered of no avail. The project was accordingly abandoned, and his talents were afterwards employed in the improvement of machinery for flour mills, and introducing his steam-engine to different purposes in the arts."

We may perceive that if the progress of this power be traced from its first experiment, America will come in for a large share of the honor of this improvement; and that the efforts of pioneers in this improvement, will make a bright constellation in the glory of her history.

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A letter which we received from captain R. De Hart, a veteran in steam-boat navigation, and also a corrected list of steam-boats with which he favored us, plainly shows that our estimate of the amount of steam-boat transportation was too low in our last, enormous as it might seem to many. We give his letter below as entitled to the highest consideration connected with Western navigation. He was captain of the Ætna in 1815, as we believe, and has been connected with steam-boat navigation ever since.

Louisville, Jan. 28, 1842.

John S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—The first successful operation by steam on the Western waters, was in the years 1811–12, by the steam-boat "Orleans," of about two hundred tons, low pressure engine, built by Fulton and Livingston at Pittsburgh. She descended to New Orleans during the earthquake, and ran between New Orleans and Natchez until the 14th of July, 1814. When on her trip to Natchez, while lying by at night at John Clay's landing, above and opposite Baton Rouge, she settled on a sharp stump by a great fall of the river in the night, which went through her bottom and sunk her. She was abandoned, and her engine, with a new copper boiler made in New York, was put into a new boat, in 1818, called the "New Orleans," which only ran until the spring of 1819, when she was sunk by a stump, on the same side of the river, below Baton Rouge, but raised by two schooners, brought to New Orleans between them, and there totally lost near the Batture.

The next boat built was the "Vesuvius," about three hundred and sixty tons, built by Fulton and Livingston, for a company in New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. She was launched at Pittsburgh in November 1813, for the Ohio and Mississippi trade. She descended to New Orleans in the spring of 1814, and was the first to

attempt to ascend to the falls of the Ohio, and left New Orleans with a load in the early part of July, 1814; but in attempting to go inside of the island No. 61, below the river St. Francis, she grounded, about the 14th of July, and the water falling fast the voyage was defeated. She returned by a rise of water in December, 1814, and was put into requisiton by general Jackson; but in starting up the river for wood, she grounded on the Batture, and she became of no use to the government. In the years 1815–16, she took the place of the "Orleans" in the Natchez trade. In the summer of 1816, she was partially burnt opposite to New Orleans, but was rebuilt, made several trips to the falls, and finally ended her days in the Natchez trade in 1820.

The steam-boat "Enterprise," of about one hundred tons, (not of Fulton's construction,) next made her appearance at New Orleans, from Brownsville, in the winter of 1814–15. She returned to Pittsburgh in the spring of 1815, being the first steam-boat that ascended the Mississippi and Ohio. The next was the "Ætna," of three hundred and sixty tons; length one hundred and fifty-three feet three inches, breadth twenty-eight feet, and nine feet depth of hold. She was built by Fulton and Livingston, at Pittsburgh, and owned by the heirs of Robert Fulton, and Robert M. Livingston.

There being some want of confidence in steam power to ascend the Mississippi with a cargo above Natchez, she was employed, in the summer of 1815, towing ships from the lower part of the river to New Orleans; barges then getting freight in preference from New Orleans to the falls of the Ohio, &c., at eight cents per pound. In the fall of the year 1815, however, the river then being very low, some of the owners of the Ætna and others made another attempt to ascend with a load, and put in her about two hundred tons—very few passengers—freight at four and a half cents per pound for heavy and six cents for light goods. Above Natchez she had to depend upon drift wood, and occasionally lying by two and three days at civilized settlements getting wood cut and hauled; broke a wrought water-wheel shaft near the mouth of the Ohio, and laid at Henderson near fifteen days trying to weld it, and at last had to end the passage with one wheel to Shippingsport in sixty days. At Louisville had two shafts cast. Her trip down, with about three hundred tons, at one cent per pound, and a few passengers, was made in seven days. Her next trip up was made early in 1816, under many of the same difficulties, in about thirty days; and broke the other wrought shaft by drift wood in ascending the Ohio.

The next boats were the "Buffalo," "Franklin," "Washington," "Shelby" "Monroe," &c. Steam-boats took the place of barges

and keel boats; fuel and facilities increased, and the face of the country changed from savage to civilized. In the place of Indian camps, we have now thriving villages, the depots for our immense internal commerce. There are now between four and five hundred steamboats on the Western waters, measuring from seventy-five to six hundred tons, all of which generally can carry much over their tonnage, valued from eight thousand to forty thousand dollars each; and they ascend the rivers at from seven to fifteen miles per hour, and descend from ten to eighteen miles, making trips from New Orleans to the falls in five to eight days, and down in about four and five.

Passengers have lately been brought up in the cabin at ten and fifteen dollars, on the best boats, and freight up at fifteen cents per hundred pounds. Freight and passage down is higher than up.

Very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

R. DE HART.

"Barges in 1815 getting freight in preference to steam-boats at eight cents per pound!" Freight has lately been brought up at fifteen cents per hundred pounds!! By a comparison of the above as the effect of navigation by steam, we may see one reason why the empire of the West, and indeed the whole Union, has gone on extending her influence over the wide domain. Why we have so rapidly increased in wealth and in population. Why it is that we increase from three to five hundred thousand annually.

Mr. De Hart remarks, "downwards freight is higher than up!" In this is conspicuously exhibited the strength of steam by the great benefit of a quick transportation to market. "Time is money," and especially in the transit of produce from the producer to the consumer. The invested capital has a quicker return. and less of it is required for business transactions, and above this may be considered the freshness of our produce when it arrives in market by a steam-boat, when compared with its condition after having floated so far by the natural current of the stream.

The return loading, which brings us our supplies of heavy articles, is almost a clear gain upon the shipments downward, to which steam-boats owe their livelihood, and most of them, their existence. In the first ideas of steam navigation the upwards transportation seemed to be the great advantage. Little did the first advocates of this system think, that within twenty years of its introduction, it would exist and increase in a fair competition with flat boats which descend without labor to the place of destination, and that up river freight would be mere back loading; yet such is the fact, as seen above. Steam-boat navigation lives and thrives in competition with the descending navigation, and is able to transport the upward freight, which was the great difficulty, for a price merely nominal. Steam-boats seem almost to say, we will do your up-stream business for nothing, if you will give us your down-stream business even on better terms than you can float it.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY DISTRICT.

When the state of Virginia, in 1784, ceded to the United States her territory northwest of the Ohio river, she reserved the land lying between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers to satisfy her land warrants, provided the good land reserved in Kentucky proved to be insufficient. Explorations of this district were then made, which congress arrested, until it was satisfied that Kentucky lands would prove deficient. In August 1790, congress took off this restriction, and general Nathaniel Massie, then of Kentucky, determined to make a settlement on the Ohio side. He selected the location of Manchester, twelve miles above Maysville. Of this settlement colonel John M'Donald, now of Ross county, in page 31 of his Sketches, speaks thus:

"General Massie, in the winter of the year 1790, determined to make a settlement in the Virginia military district. In order to effect this, he gave general notice in Kentucky of his intention, and offered each of the first twenty-five families, as a donation, one in-lot, one out-lot, and one hundred acres of land, provided they would settle in a town he intended to lay off at his settlement. His proffered terms were soon closed in with, and upwards of thirty families, joined him. After various consultations with his friends, the bottom on the Ohio river, opposite the lower of the Three Islands, was selected as the most eligible spot. Here he fixed his station, and laid off into lots a town now called Manchester; at this time a small place, about twelve miles above Maysville, (formerly Limestone) Kentucky.

"This little confederacy, with Massie at the helm (who was the soul of it,) went to work with spirit. Cabins were raised, and by the middle of March, 1791, the whole town was inclosed with strong pickets, firmly fixed in the ground, with blockhouses at each angle for defence.

"Thus was the first settlement in the Virginia military district, and the fourth settlement in the bounds of the state of Ohio, effected. Although this settlement was commenced in the hottest Indian war, it suffered less from depredation, and even interruptions, from the Indians, than any settlement previously made on the Ohio river. This was no doubt owing to the watchful band of brave spirits who guarded the place—men who were reared in the midst of danger and inured to perils, and as watchful as hawks."

To enable the youthful and securely bred reader to form some idea of the caution necessary to effect a settlement in the earliest times of this country, we will present him with a copy of general Massie's first contract, politely furnished by a gentleman of Chillicothe, the original of which we have seen and examined. The reader will be amply paid for a perusal, on the score of curiosity. He will be paid on the score of antiquity as well as a matter of history. Of the twenty signers, seven made their marks; some of which are of curious shape and being the real signatures of unlearned business men, using this precaution against imposition. We propose at some time to give a drawing of these and other significative marks which we may collect, as

being curious, and most likely of real utility in ascertaining the genuineness of ancient records, &c.

CONTRACT.

Articles of agreement between Nathaniel Massie, of one part, and the several persons that have hereunto subscribed of the other part, witnesseth that the subscribers hereof doth oblige themselves to settle in the town laid off, on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite to the lower part of the Two Islands; and make said town, or the neighborhood, on the northwest side of the Ohio, their permanent seat of residence for two years from the date hereof; no subscriber shall absent himself more than two months at a time, and during such absence furnish a strong able-bodied man sufficient to bear arms at least equal to himself; no subscriber shall absent himself the time above mentioned in case of actual danger, nor shall such absence be but once a year; no subscriber shall absent himself in case of actual danger, or if absent, shall return immediately. Each of the subscribers doth oblige themselves to comply with the rules and regulations that shall be agreed on by a majority thereof for the support of the settlement.

In consideration whereof, Nathaniel Massie doth bind and oblige himself, his heirs, &c., to make over and convey to such of the subscribers that comply with the above conditions, at the expiration of two years, a good and sufficient title unto one in-lot in said town, containing five poles in front and eleven back, one out-lot of four acres convenient to said town, in the bottom, which the said Massie is to put them in immediate possession, also one hundred acres of land, which the said Massie has shown to a part of the subscribers; the conveyance to be made to each of the subscribers, their heirs or assigns.

In witness whereof, each of the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 1st day of December, 1790.

Nathaniel Massie,	John Ellison,
John Lindsey,	Ellen Simmeral,
William Wade,	John + M'Cutchen,
John Block,	Andrew + Anderson,
Samuel + Smith,	Matthew + Hart,
Jesse + Wethington,	Henry + Nelson,
Josiah Wade,	John Peter Christopher Shanks,
John Clark,	James Allison,
Robert Ellison,	Thomas Stout,
Zephaniah Wade,	George + Wade.

Done in presence of John Beasly,
James Tittle,

A TRIP TO THE WEST.

THE following account of a trip to the West, is from the venerable pioneer who is president of the Logan Historical Society, and one of the first actors in it. He has promised more. His name is conspicuous as being connected with the improvement of stock cattle from its commencement in the West; and he has encouraged us to hope that he will communicate a history of the different breeds, from the first settlement of the country to its present improved state, with the advantages and disadvantages of each. The tracing of the successive improvement of the country, is one of the objects of the Pioneer, and stock, being important, ought not to be overlooked.

CONTENTS.

Introduction—Entertainment at Clarksburgh—Tavern in the wilderness—Journey to Zanesville—Entertainment there—Finds Mrs. Johnston—Attack on the See family—Women and children taken prisoners—Their release from captivity—Journey to Whetstone creek—Down the Scioto to the Ohio—Return home.

JNO. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ.,—I comply with your request in giving you a sketch of my early western adventures, though I assure you I do it with reluctance, as my first adventures were in a time of peace and attended with no Indian fighting, bloodshed or great hazard of life. I fear a plain and simple narrative of early travels, although they may have been, as ours were, attended with privations, hardships and fatigue, will scarcely be thought to possess interest enough to make them worth reading. This, however, I shall leave to your judgment. Insert the whole, a part, or none, as you think proper.

Some of our neighbors who had served in Dunmore's campaign in 1774, gave accounts of the great beauty and fertility of the western country, and particularly the Scioto valley, which inspired me with a desire to explore it as early as I could make it convenient. I accordingly set out from the south branch of Potomac for that purpose, I think about the first of October, 1798, in company with two friends, Joseph Harness and Leonard Stump, both of whom have long since gone hence. We took with us what provisions we could conveniently carry, and a good rifle to procure more when necessary, and further prepared ourselves to camp wherever night overtook us. Having a long journey before us, we traveled slow, and reached Clarksburgh the third night, which was then near the verge of the western settlements in Virginia, except along the Ohio river. Among our first inquiries of our apparently good, honest, illiterate landlord, was whether he could tell us how far it was to Marietta, and what kind of trace we should have? His reply was, "O yes, I can do that very thing exactly, as I have been recently appointed one of the viewers to lay out

and mark a road from here to Marietta, and have just returned from the performance of that duty. The distance on a *straight line* which we first run was seventy-five miles, but on our return we found and marked another line that was much *nearer.*" This theory to Mr. Harness and myself, each of us having spent several years in the study and practice of surveying, was entirely new: we however let it pass without comment, and our old host, to his great delight, entertained us till late in the evening, with a detailed account of the fine sport he and his associates had in their bear chases, deer chases, &c., while locating the road. We pursued our journey next morning, taking what our host called the nearest, and which he also said was much the best route. The marks on both routes being fresh and plain, the crooked and nearest route, as our host called it, frequently crossing the other, we took particular notice of the ground the straight line had to pass over, and after getting through, we were disposed to believe that our worthy host was not so far wrong as might be supposed. The straight line crossing such high peaks of mountains, some of which were so much in the sugar-loaf form, that it would be quite as near to go round as over them.

The first night after leaving the settlement at Clarksburgh, we camped in the woods; and next morning while our horses were grazing, we drew on our wallets and saddlebags for a snack, that we intended should pass for our breakfast, and set out. We had not traveled far before we unexpectedly came to a new improvement. A man had gone there in the spring, cleared a small field and raised a patch of corn, &c., staying in a camp through the summer to watch it to prevent its being destroyed by the wild animals. He had, a few days before we came along, called on some of his near neighbors on the Ohio, not much more perhaps than thirty miles off, who had kindly came forth and assisted him in putting up a cabin of pretty ample size, into which he had moved bag and baggage. He had also fixed up a rack and trough, and exposed a clapboard to view, with some black marks on it made with a coal, indicating that he was ready and willing to accommodate those who pleased to favor him with a call. Seeing these things, and although we did not in reality need any thing in his way, Mr. Harness insisted on our giving him a call, observing that any man that would settle down in such a wilderness to accommodate travelers ought to be encouraged. We accordingly rode up and called for breakfast, horse feed, &c. Then let me say that as our host had just "put the ball in motion," was destitute of any helpmate whatever, (except a dog or two,) he had of course to officiate in all the various departments appertaining to a hotel, from

the landlord down to the shoeblack on the one side, and from the landlady down to the dishwash on the other. The first department in which he had to officiate was that of the hostler, next that of the bar keeper, as it was then customary, whether called for or not, to set out a half pint of something to drink. The next, which he fell at with much alacrity, was that of the cook, by commencing with rolled up sleeves and unwashed hands and arms, that looked about as black and dirty as the bears' paws which lay at the cabin door, part of whose flesh was the most considerable item in our breakfast fare. The first operation was the mixing up some pounded corn meal dough in a little black dirty trough, to which the cleaner, and perhaps as he appeared to think him, the better half of himself, his dog, had free access before he was fairly done with it, and that I presume was the only kind of cleaning it ever got. While the dodgers were baking, the bear meat was frying, and what he called coffee was also making, which was composed of an article that grew some eight hundred or one thousand miles north of where the coffee tree ever did grow. You now have the bill of fare that we sat down to, and the manner in which it was prepared; but you must guess how much of it we ate, and how long we were at it. As soon as we were done we called for our bill, and here follows the items: breakfast fifty cents each, horses twenty-five each, half pint of whisky fifty cents. Mr. Harness, who had prevailed on us to stop, often heard of the wilderness hotel, and whenever mentioned, he always had some term of reproach ready to apply to the host and the dirty breakfast, though we often afterwards met with fare somewhat similar in all respects.

We camped two nights in the woods, and next day got to Marietta where the land office was then kept by general Putnam, and from his office we obtained maps of the different sections of country we wished to explore. From thence we traveled up the Muskingum river, on which there were some settlements up as high as a small village called Waterford. From there to where Zanesville now stands we passed no settlement. At that place there was one log cabin occupied and passed as a kind of excuse for a tavern, situated on what was then called Zane's trace; there we found a goodly number of Indians encamped for the purpose of hunting, fishing, &c., and trading the fruits of the chase with the landlord for whisky.

Here we also met with a man who had formerly resided on the south branch, with whom we had a partial acquaintance; he had left the branch some years previously, still keeping in the front rank of the white settlement, supplying himself and family with both food and raiment principally with his rifle. He then occupied a small cabin on

the west side of the river, a small distance from the mouth of Licking, and as it was on our intended route up the river, he insisted on our coming and taking breakfast with him in the morning, observing that he had made a good hunt that day and could give us plenty of the best wild meat the country afforded, &c. We of course could not well refuse his kind invitation, and accordingly repaired there by times next morning. The breakfast, which on our arrival was stewing over the log cabin fire, was soon dished up, and we fell to. The meat looked very well, color fair, taste not bad, but rather oily, and we thought not exactly like any flesh we had ever tasted before. Our host had got into an earnest and detailed account of his previous day's hunting exploits, to which we were all in duty bound to listen. None of us had room to ask what it was, or slip in a word of inquiry on any subject whatever, and had our friend had patience to postpone the relation of his narrative until we had finished our meal, all would have went off, or rather down, well enough; but about the height of our meal he came to the great and hazardous engagement he and his faithful dog had with the largest, fattest and finest panther he had ever seen, part of whose carcass we were then, as he informed us, feasting on, pointing to a corner in the cabin where the balance was cut up and salted down on the green hide of the animal. He observed that this he considered the best part of his hunt, and the only part he had brought in, and that he must hurry off after the balance. Our meal was ended in pretty short order, and we being as willing to hurry off from the best of his hunt as he was to go after the worst, we soon parted, he after his game, and we on our journey.

We traveled up the river, exploring each side up to a small cluster of cabins, which I think was called Johnson's station, though I am not certain as to the name; it was situated in the Wapatomaka bottom, a small distance above the mouth of a creek of that name emptying into the Muskingum on the west side. Here we unexpectedly found an old widow lady by the name of Johnson, who, by intermarriage, was more or less connected with myself and both my traveling companions. She was also a sister to the wife of Mr. William Robinson, who was taken prisoner by Logan, and whose declaration you have given in the Pioneer, at page 15. As the suffering of this family is connected with the early settlement of western Virginia, I presume a short sketch of their history will not be altogether uninteresting to yourself or readers. I was taken unwell the night we got to Mrs. Johnson's, and was compelled to remain there, while my companions went up as far as the mouth of Walhonding, a principal branch of

Muskingum, where Roscoe now stands. While they were gone the old lady gave me the history which I shall now relate.

The name of Mrs. Johnson's father was Frederick See, an uncle of my wife. He, with a brother-in-law and a few other families, had moved at an early day and settled on Greenbriar, a branch of the Great Kanawha, in the interval of peace between the Indians and whites. In those days, the Indians were at war with each other. The war trace at that time, between the northern and southern tribes, was along the south branch of Potomac, and through the Greenbriar settlement. In a time of peace between the whites and Indians, one of those large war parties, seventy or eighty in number, that had been in the habit of traveling back and forth, came and encamped several days on Mr. See's place, and appeared to be in a kind of frolic. Mr. See, notwithstanding their pretended friendship, expressed over and again to his family his fears of their evil design; and to win their favor as much as possible, he killed a fine hog for them, gave them bread and other things they wanted. His kindness however availed nothing. When the preconcerted time came for the blow to be struck, it fell first on his own head; and as the common mode of Indians is to make the declaration of war, not with the pen, but with the hatchet, so it was done in this case. Mr. See had a large family; several daughters grown, or nearly so, and one married, with a first child at her breast. Several Indians one day entered the house in a friendly manner as usual, and at a certain signal drove their tomahawks into the heads of the old gentleman and his son-in-law, and made prisoners of all the balance of the family. The blood of the father fell on the head and face of a little son, who was at the time fondling on him. The Indians, not wishing to kill the boy, on seeing him so bloody, were fearful he might be hurt, took him up, carried him to the creek, and washed him, and found that he was safe. The Indians had divided, and while this tragedy was going on many other families near by were sharing the same fate.

After committing what other depredations their savage minds dictated, they gathered their prisoners and booty together and set out for their town. There were several women among the prisoners who had young children at their breasts, all of which, contrary to their common custom, the Indians had spared. Mrs. Johnson said that her sister pressed her babe to her breast, and bore her long and speedy march with great fortitude; hoping, but as the sequel will show hoping in vain, that fortune might yet favor her with a speedy exchange, or with relief in some other way, and that she would still be blessed with a descendent of him most near and dear to her: but of this

great blessing, the hope of which she had so fondly cherished, she had the excruciating mortification to be deprived. The day before they reached the Indian town, the Indians took all the young children and in the most barbarous manner killed them, leaving their bodies in the woods to be devoured by the first carnivorous animal that might find them. After this, Mrs. Johnson said, her sister's life appeared to be a burthen to her, and she did every thing in her power to provoke the Indians to kill her, making several attempts to kill some of them; but they kept so close a watch on her, that she never could effect it. She, however, lived through all this, and afterwards became the wife of William Robinson, before mentioned. Soon after getting to the towns, the prisoners were divided and put into different families, the women to hard drudging and the boys to run wild with the young Indians, to amuse themselves with bow and arrow, dabble in the water, or obey any other notion their wild natures might dictate. Having lost or misplaced a journal I kept at the time, I cannot now remember the length of time these unfortunate families were detained as prisoners. It was, however, some years, when peace was again restored, and an exchange of prisoners took place. These families were collected by some of their friends, who were in attendance, and set out with them to their native homes.

The female part of the families left the towns with great cheerfulness, but the boys, and especially the younger ones, had become so completely Indian, that they had to be forced away from their Indian playmates; and a close watch had to be kept over them, and, notwithstanding all the vigilance they could apply, John See, a small boy, made his escape on the third night, evaded a vigilant pursuit, and made his way back to the towns, and was two years longer there before his friends succeeded in getting him away. Most of the See family were brought to the south branch and taken into the families of their friends; my father-in-law, Michael See, took charge of John when he was obtained, in addition to one of the others that he had previously taken. They were grown and gone to their father's place, on Greenbriar, before I became acquainted with the family, but I have often heard my mother-in-law say that she never undertook such a task as it was to break in those wild Indian boys, and especially John: it was utterly impossible, she said, to keep clothes on them; in the summer season she did not attempt it, as it was worse than useless to do so, at least any more than shirts, and the strongest tow or hemp linen shirt that could be put on them, with the strongest kind of fastenings that could be applied at wristband and collar, would perhaps in an hour's time be torn off them and thrown by, and they

would be found swimming like wild ducks in the river, or wallowing naked in the sand beaches on the shores; and in their melancholy moments they would often be heard to exclaim, in all the apparent agonies of distress, "O! my Innies, my Innies!" (meaning Indians.) It took a number of years to root out this attachment, and indeed it was thought by a part of their friends that some of the boys carried remnants of it to their graves. And this among many thousands of other similar occurrences, is a strong proof of the correctness of the old adage, that "It is easy to make an Indian out of a white man, but hard, if not impossible, to make a white man out of an Indian, or even to reclaim a white man after being converted into an Indian."

When my friends returned from their tour up the river, I was sufficiently recovered to proceed on our journey; we accordingly left our old friend, Mrs. Johnson, took an Indian trace leading over to Licking, thence up it to a beautiful prairie, called the Bowlinggreen. Here we found an old hunter in a bark camp, "solitary and alone," with the exception of his dog, some twenty or thirty miles in advance of his nearest neighbor. He had raised a small patch of corn, potatoes, &c. without any fence, there being no animals to trespass on his premises but wild ones, and those that did so generally paid the penalty with their lives, as the site on which his camp was located had been judiciously chosen on an elevated spot, with his patch immediately under his eye, and prairie all round, so that nothing could approach his "castle" without being discovered by himself or his dog. We put up for the night with the old hunter, and were entertained much to our satisfaction; the best fruits of his chase were at our service. As is common with this class of people, it appeared to gratify him very much to have an opportunity to tell over his hunting stories and Indian scrapes, as he called them. Having once been a prisoner with the Indians, he had some very interesting Indian anecdotes in store. He went with us some distance the next day, and gave us all the information that he supposed would be of any advantage to us. Among other things, he informed us that there was a large camp of Indians on one of the northern branches of Licking that we had better avoid, as some of them might steal our horses and run off with them, or hide them with a view of being rewarded for finding them; and we adhered to his counsel. We were much pleased with the valley of Licking, but thought its commercial advantages would be much inferior to those of larger rivers. And had I met in my path, in traveling up that valley, one risen from the dead, and he had said to me, that I would live to travel up and down that valley in a canal-boat, I fear I should have been like some of old, and scarcely have

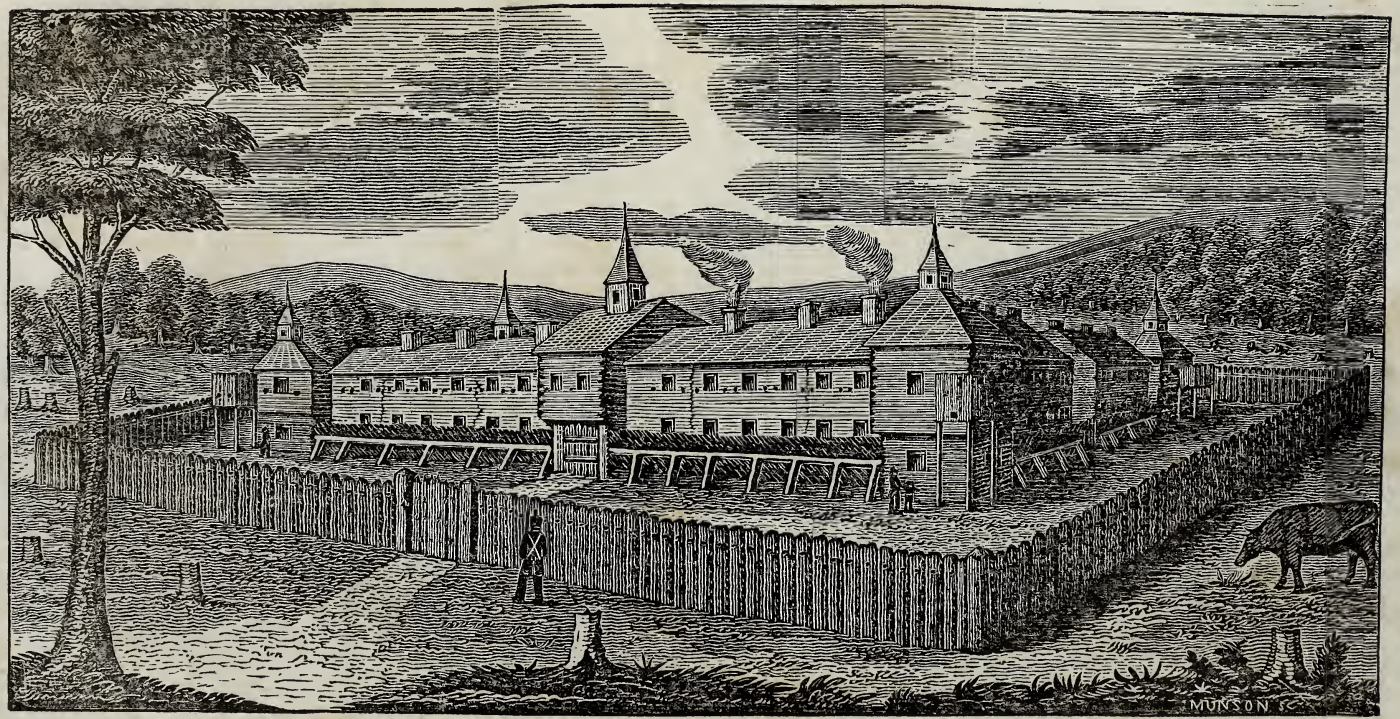
believed him; but so it has turned out. After traveling up Licking some distance above where the town of Newark now stands, we steered a due west course, or as near so as we could with a pocket compass, the sun being obscured for several days with clouds and rain. After leaving the forks of Licking, our course took us through a dense forest, mostly of heavy beech timber. Grass and under vegetation being scarce, we were compelled to travel slow to give our horses time to sustain themselves on the scanty nourishment the country afforded. Here we also found game scarce and hard to be procured. Our own fare was occasionally quite as scanty as that of our horses, being sometimes reduced to a bit of wild turkey broiled on the coals, and glad to get that; but as we had set out with a determination to breast with fortitude the hardships we might have to encounter, we were satisfied that it was no worse with us. We pursued our westwardly course until we struck Whetstone, one of the principal branches of the Scioto, some fifteen miles above its junction.

Supposing ourselves to be on the main branch of the Scioto, and not wishing to go farther north, we turned south to Franklinton, on the next morning, which was, I think, the 22d of October. This was the first frosty morning we had seen during our travel. At Franklinton we found a considerable number of log cabins, most of which had recently been put up, and were without chinking, daubing or doors. Doorways were however cut out, and blankets hung up in them to supply the place of doors. Here we refreshed ourselves and horses, being very kindly treated. We spent a day or two in looking round that section of country, and then proceeded by slow marches, exploring both sides of the river, down south to Chillicothe, finding a cabin every six, eight or ten miles.

At Chillicothe we spent a few days, and then explored the valley to the Ohio. No town—no commerce—no steam-boats—were then to be seen. The sameness of the prospect was broken only by the flight of a few wild-fowl, and once in two or three days a poor little Kentuck family boat would float silently by. From thence by way of the Scioto saltworks and Little Kanawha we went home; having every where, with but one exception, received that kind of hospitality known only among pioneers. At another time I will prepare a narrative of a second trip, together with what I know about camp Charlotte, colonel Lewis, and the place where Logan delivered his celebrated speech. Very respectfully yours,

Indian Creek Farm, near Chillicothe,
February 5th, 1842.

Felix Renick



CAMPUS MARTIUS, IN 1791.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

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A DESCRIPTION OF CAMPUS MARTIUS,

OR THE STOCKADED FORT, BUILT AT MARIETTA, BY THE OHIO COMPANY, IN THE YEARS 1788–9.

[See Frontispiece.]

This fort, or stockaded garrison, was erected by the Ohio company, under the direction of general Rufus Putnam. At the landing of the first detachment of settlers, on the 7th day of April, A. D. 1788, the ground on which it was built, and the whole adjacent plain, was covered with a thick growth of forest trees. The plan, and preparation of the materials, was commenced soon after; but it was not finally completed, with palisades and outworks or bastions, until the breaking out of the Indian war, in the winter of 1791.

The walls formed a regular parallelogram, the sides of which were one hundred and eighty feet each. At each corner was erected a strong blockhouse, surmounted by a tower or sentry box. These houses were twenty feet square below and twenty-four feet above, and projected six feet beyond the curtains, or main walls of the fort. The intermediate curtains were built up with dwelling houses, made of wood, whip-sawed into timbers four inches thick, and of the requisite width and length. These were laid up similar to the structure of log houses, with the ends nicely dovetailed or fitted together so as to make a neat finish. The whole were two stories high, and covered with good shingle roofs. Convenient chimneys were erected of bricks, for cooking and for warming the rooms. A number of the dwelling houses were built and owned by private individuals, who had families. In the west and south fronts were strong gateways; and over that, in the centre of the front looking to the Muskingum river, was a belfry. The chamber underneath was occupied by the honorable Winthrop Sargent as an office, he being secretary to the governor of the Northwest Territory, general St. Clair, and performing the duties of governor in his absence. This room projected over the gateway, like a blockhouse, and was intended for the protection of the gate beneath in time of an assault. At the outer corner of each blockhouse was erected a bastion, standing on four stout tim-

bers. The floor of the bastion was a little above the lower story of the blockhouse. They were square, and built up with thick planks to the height of a man's head, so that when he looked over he stepped on to a narrow platform, or "banquet," running round the sides of the bulwark. Port-holes were made for musketry, as well as for artillery, a single piece of which was mounted in the southwest and northeast bastions. In these the sentries were regularly posted every night, as more convenient of access than the towers; a door leading into them from the upper story of the blockhouses. The lower room of the southwest blockhouse was occupied for a guard-house. Running from corner to corner of the blockhouses was a row of palisades, sloping outwards, and resting on stout rails. Twenty feet in advance of these was a row of very strong and large pickets, set upright in the earth. Gateways through these admitted the inmates of the garrison. A few feet beyond the outer palisades was placed a row of abattis, made from the tops and branches of trees, sharpened and pointing outwards, so that it would have been very difficult for an enemy to have penetrated even within their outworks. The dwelling houses occupied a space of from fifteen to thirty feet each, and were sufficient for the accommodation of forty or fifty families, and did actually contain from two to three hundred persons, men, women and children, during the Indian war.

Before the Indians commenced hostilities, the blockhouses were occupied as follows:—the southwest one by the family of governor St. Clair; the northwest one for public worship and holding of courts. The first civil court ever held in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, was assembled in this building, the 2d day of September, 1788. The court opened with prayer by the Rev. Manassah Cutler, who was on a visit to Marietta at that time as a director of the company. Public worship was also performed in the same place on Sunday, August 24th, by Dr. Cutler, attended by the officers from Fort Harmer, the settlers at Campus Martius, and several persons from Williams' settlement, on the Virginia shore, opposite the mouth of Muskingum. He continued to preach here during his visit until some time in September. The next spring it was regularly occupied by the Rev. Daniel Story, as will be shown in the sequel of this article. The southeast blockhouse was occupied by private families; and the northeast as an office for the accommodation of the directors of the company. The area within the walls was one hundred and forty-four feet square, and afforded a fine parade ground. In the centre was a well, eighty feet in depth, for the supply of water to the inhabitants in case of a siege. A large sun-dial stood for many years in the square,

placed on a handsome post, and gave note of the march of time. It is still preserved as a relic of the old garrison.

After the war commenced, a regular military corps was organized, and a guard constantly kept night and day. The whole establishment formed a very strong work, and reflected great credit on the head that planned it. It was in a manner impregnable to the attacks of Indians, and none but a regular army with cannon could have reduced it. It is true, that the heights across the Muskingum commanded and looked down upon the defences of the fort; but there was no enemy in a condition to take possession of this advantage.

The garrison stood on the verge of that beautiful plain, overlooking the Muskingum, on which are seated those celebrated remains of antiquity; and erected probably for a similar purpose, the defence of the inhabitants. The ground descends into shallow ravines on the north and south sides; on the west is an abrupt descent to the river bottoms, or alluvions; and the east passed out on to the level plain. On this the ground was cleared of trees beyond the reach of rifle shots, so as to afford no shelter to a hidden foe. Extensive fields of corn were growing in the midst of the standing girdled trees beyond. The front wall of the garrison was about one hundred and fifty yards from the Muskingum river. The appearance of the fort from without was grand and imposing; at a little distance resembling one of the military palaces or castles of the feudal ages. Between the outer palisades and the river were laid out neat gardens for the use of governor St. Clair and his secretary, with the officers of the company.

Opposite the fort, on the shore of the river, was built a substantial timber wharf, at which was moored a fine cedar barge for twelve rowers, built by captain Jonathan Devoll, for general Putnam; a number of pirogues, and the light canoes of the country; and last, not least, "the May-Flower," or "Adventure Galley," in which the first detachment of colonists were transported from the shores of the Yohiogany to the banks of the Muskingum. In these, especially the canoes, during the war, most of the communications were carried on between the settlements of the company and the more remote towns above on the Ohio river. Traveling by land was very hazardous to any but the rangers, or spies. There were no roads nor bridges across the creeks, and for many years after the war had ceased the traveling was nearly all done by canoes on the rivers.

While many of the early settlements in the West were made up from the ignorant, the vulgar, and the rude, the colony at Marietta, like those of some of the ancient Greeks, carried with it the sciences and the arts; and although placed on the frontiers, amidst a howling

and savage wilderness, exposed to many dangers and privations, there ran in the veins of its little community some of the best blood of the country. It enrolled many men of highly cultivated minds and exalted intellect: several of them claimed the halls of old Cambridge as their Alma Mater. The army of the revolution furnished a number of officers who had distinguished themselves for their good conduct as well as for their bravery. To this latter circumstance is probably to be attributed the fact of the settlement's passing through a four years' war with the most cunning and bold enemy the world ever produced with so few losses.

In connection with the description of Campus Martius, we add a biographical sketch of the Rev. Daniel Story, who was the earliest preacher of the gospel in the territory northwest of the river Ohio.

Soon after the organization of the Ohio company, at Boston, Massachusetts, in the year 1787, it seems that the enlightened men who directed its concerns began to think of making arrangements for the support of the gospel and the instruction of youth in their new colony about to be established in the western wilderness. Having been born and brought up in a land where more attention was paid to the religious, moral and literary culture of the people, than at any other locality on the civilized portion of the globe, being the country of the Puritans, and themselves the descendants of the Plymouth colonists, they naturally turned their thoughts to its vast importance for the settlement just budding into existence under their care. Accordingly a resolution was passed at a meeting of the directors and agents, on the 7th of March, in the year 1788, at Providence, in Rhode Island, for the support of the gospel and a teacher of youth: in consequence of which the Rev. Manassah Cutler, one of the company directors, in the course of that year engaged the Rev. Daniel Story, then preaching at Worcester, Massachusetts, to go to the west as chaplain to the new settlement commenced at Marietta. After a tedious and laborious journey across the Alleghany mountains, Mr. Story arrived at Marietta in the spring of the year 1789, and commenced his ministerial labors as an evangelist. The settlements were new and situated at various points, some of them a considerable distance from Marietta; nevertheless he visited them in rotation, in conformity with the arrangement of the directors, by which he was to preach about one third of the time at the settlements of Wolf creek and Belprie.

During the Indian war, from 1791 to 1795, he preached the larger portion of the time in the northwest blockhouse of Campus Martius, (seen at the left side of the drawing.) The upper room in that house was fitted up with benches and a rude simple desk, so as to accomo-

date an audience of a hundred or more. This room was also used for a school, which was first taught by major Anselm Tupper, a son of general Benjamin Tupper, a highly gifted and well educated man, who had served with much credit in the army of the revolution. During this period, a committee appointed by the directors to report on the religious and literary instruction of the youth, resolved that one hundred and eighty dollars be paid from the funds of the company to aid the new settlement in paying a teacher, with the condition that Marietta support a teacher one year, Belprie seven months, and Waterford three months. If they complied with that, this sum was to be divided amongst them in proportion to the time. Near the same period, twenty dollars were appropriated to pay colonel E. Battelle for religious instruction at Belprie. Colonel Battelle was a graduate of Cambridge university, and acted as chaplain to the settlement during the Indian war, reading the church service regularly each Sabbath to the inmates of Farmer's Castle. The meetings were held in the south-east blockhouse, where he resided. These testimonials sufficiently prove the interest the Ohio company felt for the spiritual welfare, as well as the temporal comfort, of the colonists. Mr. Story also preached occasionally at a large room in the upper story of a frame house in the stockade or garrison at "the Point," being at the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio, on the left bank; Fort Harmer being on the opposite shore. At periods when the Indians were quiet, he visited and preached at the settlements of Belprie and Wolf creek, fifteen and twenty miles from Marietta. These pastoral visits were made by water in a log canoe, propelled by the stout arms and willing hearts of the early pioneers. There were no roads at that day by which he could travel by land, and horses were scarce; besides there was less danger in this mode of conveyance than on horseback.

In the year 1796, he united and established a congregational church, composed of persons residing in Marietta, Belprie, Waterford and Vienna in Virginia. In 1797 he visited his native state, and remained there until he was *called* to the pastoral charge of the church he had thus collected in the *wilderness*. He was ordained the 15th of August, 1797, in Danvers, Massachusetts, there being no ministers to perform that office west of the mountains, to the care of the church in Marietta and vicinity. This relation continued between Mr. Story and his church until the 15th of March, 1804, when he was dismissed at his own request, his health having become too much impaired for him to perform the labors of pastor any longer. After the Marietta academy was built, in 1797, public worship was performed in that edifice; it being built in part for that object. Mr. Story was a native

of the town of Boston, state of Massachusetts, and graduated at Dartmouth college in 1780. He was in the ministry for some years before he came to Marietta, and when he was selected by Dr. Cutler to come to the West, the choice was much approved by those who knew him. In coming to Marietta, however, Mr. Story certainly sacrificed his interest and his comfort. What money he possessed at that time was invested in Ohio lands, previous to coming out, with the expectation of reasonable support from the Ohio company, until the rents of the ministerial lands, set apart for the support of the gospel, should come into use or be available; but this was prevented by the Indian war, and no funds were derived from this source till about the year 1800. The support from the funds of the Ohio company was continued for only two years, their affairs being somewhat deranged by the Indian war, the expense of which to their treasury being upwards of eleven thousand dollars. The inhabitants were generally much impoverished from the same cause, and probably his receipts for preaching from the year 1789 to the time of his ordination in 1797 could not have paid his expenses for board and clothing. He was obliged to draw upon his former earnings by the sale of some of his lands. However the hospitality of one or two kind Christian friends, who gave him a welcome seat at their tables during a part of this period, relieved him from some of his difficulties. At his death, the proceeds from the sale of his remaining lands were insufficient to discharge all the debts incurred while laboring in the new settlements. In person Mr. Story was rather tall and slender, and quite brisk and active in his movements; his manners easy, with a pleasant address; cheerful and animated in conversation, and always a welcome guest in the families he visited. After the war, he frequently went out to the new settlers, who had established themselves on their farms, and sometimes spent a week with them in the most familiar and pleasant intercourse. His sermons were practical; logically and methodically written, after the manner of that day, and were said to be fully equal in matter and manner to those of the first preachers in New England. In prayer he greatly excelled both in propriety and diversity of subject, as well as in beauty of language. He was never married, but lived a single life, after the manner and advice of St. Paul. Placed in the midst of a people continually trembling for the safety of their lives, filled with anxiety for the support of their families, and surrounded by the careless manners of the soldiery, it is not to be expected that much could be done under such circumstances by a humble minister of the gospel in advancing the spiritual condition of the people; nevertheless he did what he could for the support of the cause in which

he was engaged, and his name is still held in respectful remembrance by the few living remnants of the early settlers of Marietta. He died the 30th day of December, 1804, aged forty-nine years.

For all the principal facts in the foregoing biography I am indebted to W. R. Putnam, Esq., of Marietta.

S. P. Hildreth

Marietta, Ohio, Jan. 19, 1842.

HISTORY OF A VOYAGE FROM MARIETTA TO NEW ORLEANS, IN 1805.

THE following history cannot be read except with intense interest by every one who delights to look back through a vista of thirty-six years, in this country that has risen with rapidity without a parallel. It was written by a master hand, and communicated for the American Pioneer; and we have reason to indulge the hope that he will still do more to fill up and complete the contrast. The reader, and especially the river traveler, will become enchained to it, and will scarce leave it till he has read it through, and then think it comparatively short.

HISTORY OF AN EARLY VOYAGE ON THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS, WITH HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE DIFFERENT POINTS ALONG THEM, &c. &c

BY S. P. HILDRETH, M. D.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

Early times in the West—Ship-building in Marietta—The Nonpariel and her cargo—Crew and passengers—General Mansfield.

For several years previous to this voyage, ship-building had been carried on by the enterprising merchants and citizens of Marietta. This town was pleasantly seated on the right bank of the majestic Ohio, at the junction of the clear waters of the Muskingum, in the midst of a thickly wooded country; whose hills furnished in unlimited abundance the oak, the pine, and the locust; woods so essential in naval architecture. Having as yet but few returns from the rich soil of their valleys, they directed their attention to the means of wealth so bountifully furnished by Him, who has in various ways provided for the wants of all his creatures. With the productions of the forest wrought into ships and brigs, they could readily exchange them with the rich importers of the Atlantic cities for merchandise, so much needed by the new settlements in the West. Although the colonists of the Ohio company had been favored with only seven years of peace out of the twelve that had elapsed since they first landed at the mouth of the Muskingum, yet they had so far cleared the soil of the

immense trees which had shaded it for ages from the blessed rays of the sun, as to be able to raise sufficient food for their own support, with a prospect of soon having a surplus to send abroad. Kentucky and the regions on the Monongahela, lying along the western slopes of the Alleghany mountains, having been much longer settled, had already began, as early as the year 1795, to send considerable quantities of flour, whisky, and tobacco, to the towns on the Mississippi, at that time in the possession of the Spaniards. As this was the natural outlet of the western country through its mighty rivers, it was thought to be the only one by which they could ever send their produce to market, no man at that day dreaming of the canals, rail-roads and steam-boats, that have since opened a hundred avenues through which the products of the rich valleys of the West may be conveyed to the Atlantic. As soon as ship-building commenced at Marietta, in the year 1800, the farmers along the borders of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers turned their attention to the cultivation of hemp in addition to their other crops. In a few years sufficient was raised not only to furnish cordage to the ships of the West, but large quantities were worked up in the various ropewalks, and sent as freight in the vessels to the Atlantic cities. Iron, so important an article in all the mechanical arts of civilization, and without which it is said by philosophers we should still have remained in the savage state, was made in abundance at the forges on the Juniata, and furnished an article, which to this day is justly celebrated in the West for its strength and tenacity.

By the year 1805, no less than two ships, seven brigs and three schooners, had been built and rigged by the citizens of Marietta. Captain Jonathan Devoll ranked amongst the earliest of Ohio shipwrights. He was a native of Rhode Island, and at Howland's ferry, had wrought at the art of ship and boat building for several years during and after the war of independence. He was one of the advance party sent on in the fall of the year 1787, by the Ohio company, under general Rufus Putnam. They spent the winter at "Simrel's ferry," on the Youghiogeny, and constructed a large boat, which they named the "May-flower;" and from which, in April following, they landed at the mouth of the Muskingum, and commenced laying the corner stone of the great state of Ohio. After the Indian war he settled on a farm five miles above Marietta, on the fertile bottoms of the Muskingum. Here he built "a floating mill" for making flour; and in 1801 a ship of two hundred and thirty tons, called the Muskingum; and the brig Eliza Greene, of one hundred and fifty tons.

In 1804, he built a schooner on his own account; and in the spring of the year 1805, she was finished and loaded for a voyage on the Mississippi, aided by his sons, Charles and Barker Devoll, young men in the heyday of life, and Richard Greene, who was a partner and owned a share in the vessel and cargo. She was small, being only of seventy tons burthen; of a light draft, intended to run on the lakes east of New Orleans. In shape and model she fully sustained her name, the Nonpariel. She was completely rigged except in sails, of which she had only one large square-sail, this being thought sufficient to navigate her to New Orleans, where a full suit was to be pur-

chased. She had a large cabin to accommodate passengers, was beautifully painted, and sat on the water like a duck in its native element. Her load was made up of assorted articles; amongst which were two hundred barrels of flour, fifty barrels of kiln-dried corn meal; four thousand pounds of cheese, six thousand of bacon, one hundred sets of rum puncheon shooks, and a few grindstones. The flour and meal were manufactured at captain Devoll's floating mill, and the cheese made in Belprie, at that time one of the most flourishing agricultural districts in the state of Ohio.

The crew consisted of Barker Devoll, commander; Charles Devoll and Richard Greene, supercargoes; "old Thom," a French Canadian, long accustomed to inland navigation on the great northern lakes, having been "a voyageur" in the fur trade, and now acting in the capacity of sailor and cook. He was a most inveterate smoker and dear lover of whisky. An Irishman, called "old Bill," as strongly attached to usquebaugh as "old Thom" to his pipe, was shipped as a common hand, and completed the crew. All things being ready, and having taken out the regular shipping papers, Marietta being at that time, and for several years after, a port of clearance, they unmoored from the landing and floated merrily along to the mouth of the Muskingum. Here, after a short delay in getting a few necessary stores for the table, they took on board as passengers, Mr. Mansfield, the then U. S. surveyor general, with his family, consisting of his wife, his son, nephew and servant girl. General Mansfield had lived in Marietta since the year 1803; having been appointed to this important trust to succeed general Rufus Putnam, who had been removed, not for incompetency or unfaithfulness, but by one of those political tornadoes which sometimes sweep across our American republic. He was now about to make Cincinnati his headquarters, as more central and nearer to the new tracts of government lands ordered to be surveyed in Ohio and the adjacent western territory. General Mansfield possessed a high order of talents, especially as a mathematician, with every qualification necessary to conduct the department under his control with honor to himself and advantage to his country. To a handsome personal appearance was added the most bland and pleasant address, rendering him a very desirable companion.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE VOYAGE.

The Nonpariel sets out—The season and its beauties—Parkersburgh and Belprie—Blannerhasset's island and its delights—Blannerhasset's downfall, arrest, &c.—Farmers' Castle and Belprie—Belville—Letarts' Falls—Gallipolis land clearing, and French grant —Point Pleasant, and the battle of.

The Nonpareil left Marietta on the twenty-first day of April, and shoving off into the stream, with the aid of her broad sail and the current, careered gaily along on the smooth bosom of the Ohio.

The season of the year abounded in life and beauty. The deep forests that covered the hillsides, and laved their branches in the waters of the "belle riviere," were now arousing themselves from the slumbers of winter; many of the trees were in full foliage, while others were just unfolding their buds to the mild rays of the sun, and

the soft breezes of the spring. Along the southern slopes the full blown dogwoods displayed their snowy petals, standing in clustered groups like the trees in some fair orchard. In rich contrast, the pink colored blossoms of the redbud shed a joyous beauty over the scene, unequalled by the most skilful gardener's art. The woodlands were at that day like a well pruned park, open and free from the incumbrance of underbrush, kept down by the autumnal fires of the hunter. The water and the air were both teeming with life. The Ohio abounded in fish. The agile pike, the fat groveling cat-fish, and the silver scaled perch, full of spirit and action, felt the waters to be too heavy an element, and with sportive leaps bounded into the lighter air. Flocks of birds, dressed in the gayest plumage, were traversing the windings of the river, on their annual migration from the warm regions of the south, to incubate and spend the summer in the cooler districts of the north; while the indigenous and more constant residents of the country, had already chosen their mates and commenced their architectural labors preparatory to rearing their young. The bald eagle and the turkey-buzzard, were then amongst our commonest birds, while now they are rarely seen in the vicinity of Marietta.

Twelve miles below the mouth of the Muskingum, at the junction of the Little Kanawha with the Ohio, they passed without landing, the little town of Newport, since changed to that of Parkersburg. Although it was at that time the seat of justice for Wood county, it consisted of only a few log houses. It has since grown into a town of considerable importance, with many large brick buildings. The settlement commenced about the same time with that at Marietta. On the opposite shore lay the township of Belprie, composed of New England farmers, a large proportion of whom had been officers and soldiers during the stormy period of the revolutionary war, and had emigrated to this distant region to spend the remnant of their days on the borders of the placid Ohio. Ten years of peace had enabled them to clear and cultivate their farms, plant orchards and erect comfortable frame dwelling houses; so that the state of improvement was in advance of any other place between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. In the cultivation of fruit they greatly excelled, and to this day the apples of Washington county are justly celebrated in all the river towns. They are now one of the staple exports of Belprie.

One mile below the mouth of the Little Kanawha, they passed the seat of Herman Blannerhasset, erected near the head of a large island, then known by the name of Backus' island. The original owner of this island was colonel P. Devoll, of Virginia, who located it, with that just above the mouth of the Muskingum, in his own name as early as the year 1774. Having sold it to Elijah Backus, about the period of the settlement of the Ohio company, Mr. Backus in the year 1798 disposed of the upper half, containing about one hundred and fifty acres, to Mr. Blannerhasset, who shortly after commenced improving it. At this time it was in its zenith of beauty, and fully answered the glowing description of Wirt in the trial of Burr at Richmond in 1807. In addition to large and splendid buildings, garden, orchard, &c., he possessed a voluminous library of choice and valuable books; a full set of chemical apparatus and philosophical instru-

ments, to the accommodation of which one wing of the dwelling house was appropriated. He was a fine scholar, well versed in the languages, and refined in taste and manners. So tenacious was his memory that he could repeat the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek. With an ample fortune to supply every want, a beautiful and highly accomplished wife, and children just budding into life, he seemed surrounded with every thing which can make existence desirable and happy. The adjacent settlements of Belprie and Marietta, although secluded in the wilderness, contained many men of cultivated minds and refined manners, with whom he held constant and familiar intercourse; so that he lacked none of the benefits of society which his remote and insular situation would seem to indicate. Many were the cheerful and merry gatherings of the young people of these two towns beneath his hospitable roof, while the song and the dance echoed through the halls.

In one year after this date, or in 1806, Aaron Burr entered this fair and blooming paradise, and after the manner of the tempter of old, by his smooth and fascinating manners beguiled the woman, who had great influence over the mind of her husband, and induced him to engage in the wild and extravagant project of erecting a new republic in the eastern provinces of Mexico. The military preparations of Burr in the western states and territories drew upon him the suspicions of the government, and in December, 1806, an order was received by colonel Phelps, the commandant of the militia of Wood county, Virginia, for his arrest, with his associates. Blannerhasset received a hasty notice of what was doing; and a few hours before the arrival of the colonel on the island took his departure in the night by water, leaving his wife to meet his accusers and to follow after with his children and household goods. And well did she defend her absent husband's rights; facing the militia with unblanched cheeks, and forbidding their touching any thing not expressly mentioned in the warrant. By the aid of some of her kind neighbors in Belprie, who were friendly to her husband and greatly pitied her unpleasant condition, she was enabled to embark a few days after, with her two little sons, the most valuable of her effects and black servants in a boat, but did not rejoin Mr. Blannerhasset until he reached Louisville. Well might they look back in after years, with fond regret to the fair Eden from which they had been expelled by their own indiscretion, and the deceptive blandishments of Aaron Burr. In the year 1812, the dwelling house and offices were destroyed by an accidental fire. The garden with all its beautiful shrubbery, was converted into a corn field, the ornamental gateway which graced the graveled avenue from the river to the house was thrown down; and for many years not a vestige has been left of the splendid and happy home of Herman Blannerhasset but the name. Nearly forty years have elapsed since some of these events were transacted, and the thousands of passengers who annually travel up and down the Ohio in steamboats still eagerly inquire after, and gaze upon the "island of Blannerhasset" with wonder and delight.

As the Nonpariel glided smoothly along by the island, near its lower end she passed the site of Farmer's Castle," a strong stockaded

garrison, where the first settlers of Belprie had passed five long and weary years during the Indian war. It had been the scene of much suffering from pinching famine, wasting disease, and the cruel savage. Charles and Barker Devoll, as well as R. Greene, had been sheltered by its walls, and witnessed all the stirring events that had befallen it during that trying period. Several of the blockhouses were yet standing, and recalled many of the feats of their boyhood to mind.

After passing the settlements of Belprie, no improvements but scattering clearings, with here and there a solitary cabin, were seen until they reached Belville, four miles below the mouth of the great Hockhocking river, on the Virginia shore. This settlement was commenced in the year 1786, by a mercantile house in Philadelphia, under the agency of Joseph Wood, Esq., who is still living in Marietta, aged eighty-two years. It was now a thriving settlement, with well cultivated farms stretched across the broad alluvions of nearly a mile in width. This spot was the site of a strong garrison during the Indian war, and many tragic events had transpired around it. It now exhibited the busy hum of industry and peace. G. Avery, an enterprising merchant from the East, had purchased a large tract of land and made Belville his home for several years past. The locality being favorable for ship-building, he had commenced that business, and had already launched two large vessels. An extensive ropewalk was also built and in full operation. The rich bottoms about Belville producing large crops of hemp, afforded the means of manufacturing all kinds of cordage, not only for rigging his ships, but also for transportation.

A few miles below this place the Ohio commences a series of bends and curves, varying its direction to every point of the compass. In passing Buffington's island and "Letart falls," as they were called, although only a strong ripple made by the rocky bottom of the river, the schooner was kept in the channel by the aid of long ash oars, as the wind was so baffling, and blowing as often up stream as down with the varying course of the river, that the sail was of little or no use. With care however they threaded all these passes without accident, and sailing gaily along by the mouth of the Great Kanawha, brought their little vessel to for a short time at the town of Gallipolis.

This place was settled by a colony of four hundred Frenchmen in the year 1790. They had purchased a large tract of land from Joel Barlow, the agent of the Scioto land company in Paris. But this company having failed to complete its contract with the government of the United States, could not make legal conveyances to the purchasers; while they, poor fellows, having expended all their money in the purchase, voyage and journey to Ohio, now found themselves in a strange country, without a home and in poverty. The tract for which the Scioto company were bargaining embraced the region lying between the western boundary of the Ohio company's lands and the Scioto river; resting on the Ohio river and extending back to the northern line of said company. The French emigrants located their town on a high bank of the river, two miles below the mouth of the Kanawha, which spot proved to be within the territory of the

Ohio company. They however immediately fell to work clearing away the huge trees which encumbered the soil with all the life and activity of Frenchmen, cheering the solitary hours of night with the merry dance and the melody of the fiddle. From their total ignorance of woodcraft and the manner of felling trees, several of their number were crushed to death beneath them. Their manner was to place as many men around a huge poplar or sycamore as could conveniently wield their axes, while one man watched the progress of the work, and gave notice of the first indication of its falling by a loud yell. Every one then took to his heels and fled with all speed from beneath the descending giant. In this attempt they sometimes ran in the direction of the falling tree and were killed under its branches. When fairly down they went to work in dismembering it. In the mean time another party with spades dug a deep pit along side the trunk, into which it was rolled and covered with earth, while the top and branches were thrown into heaps and burnt. Dr. J. B. Reigner, then a young man, delicately brought up and educated in Paris, with whom I became acquainted in after life, was one of the company, and toiled a whole season in this manner, receiving one third of an acre as his share of the cleared land. The Indian war commencing in 1791, he left the country and settled in the state of New York, until peace was restored. Disheartened by sickness, war, famine and disappointment, many of the colony dispersed to the French settlements on the Wabash and Mississippi. Congress commiserating their misfortunes, made them a donation of twenty-four thousand acres of land on the Ohio river a few miles above the mouth of the Scioto, known to this day by the name of the "French grant." At this period the town had began to increase, and now and then a frame house was seen taking the place of the diminutive log cabins in which they had heretofore dwelt.

At the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is in sight of Gallipolis, there was a small town called Point Pleasant. During the Indian war a garrison was kept here with a guard of soldiers at the charge of the state of Virginia. It is memorable as the spot where, in the year 1774, was fought one of the most bloody and well contested battles which has, at any time, been enacted on the waters of the Ohio. It took place on the tenth of September, and continued through the whole day. The forces engaged were thought to have been about equal in numbers. The Virginia troops were commanded by general Andrew Lewis, and amounted to eleven hundred men. The leader of the Indians was the celebrated chief Cornstalk. About sunset the savages withdrew their warriors, leaving a number of their dead in the hands of the whites. The loss of the Virginians was seventy-five killed and one hundred and forty wounded. Isaac Shelby, afterwards governor of Kentucky, commanded a company in this battle. This war was known in the West by the name of "Dunmore's war," after lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia. In the spring of the year 1777, Cornstalk and his son, Ellinipsico, were basely murdered at this garrison while on a friendly visit to the whites. He was the great chief of the Shawanees, and possessed of courage and talents equal to those of any Indian who ever lived.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GALLIPOLIS TO NORTH BEND.

Guyandotte and the Iroquois Indians—Big Sandy, cane, bears—Ginseng, timber trees and iron—Alexandria, Portsmouth Saltworks—Limestone, Manchester—Cincinnati, improvements—Barge navigation—North Bend, Miami purchase.

From Gallipolis the Nonpariel sailed pleasantly along past the outlets of the Little and Big Guyandotte rivers, the latter of which is thirty-five miles below. The names of these streams are now all that remain as memorials of a tribe of Indians who once lived on the banks of the Ohio. The whole tribe was destroyed before the country was known to the whites, by the warriors of the merciless Iroquois, or "Six Nations"—the Romans of the savage tribes, who spread their conquests from the lakes to the Ohio river. Between the mouths of these two streams, are seen uncommonly extensive ranges of mounds, with the remains of embankments and relics of those ancient towns and forts, so peculiar to the western country.

At the mouth of the Big Sandy, the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, the Ohio makes its extreme southern bend, and approaches nearer to the climate of the cane *(arundinaria macrosperma,)* than at any other point between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. At this period it grew in considerable quantities near the falls, thirty miles from the mouth, and had been visited in 1804 by Thomas Alcock, of Marietta, for the purpose of collecting its stems to manufacture weavers' reeds. It was the highest point, near the Ohio, where this valuable plant was known to grow, and has long since been destroyed by the domestic cattle of the inhabitants. In Tennessee and Kentucky it furnished the winter food for their cattle and horses many years after their settlement. The head waters of the Sandy and Guyandotte interlock with those of the Clinch and the Holstein, amidst the spurs of the Cumberland mountains. In their passage to the Ohio, they traverse the most wild and picturesque region to be found in western Virginia; abounding in immense hills of sand rocks, cut into deep ravines by the water courses, containing caverns of various sizes and extent. At this period it was the most famous hunting ground for bears in all the country. In the years 1805, 6 and 7, eight thousand skins were collected by the hunters from the district traversed by these rivers and a few adjacent streams. It was the paradise of bears; affording their most favorite food in exhaustless abundance. The bear is not strictly a carniverous animal, but like the hog, feeds chiefly on vegetable food. On the ridges were whole forests of chesnuts, and the hillsides were covered with oaks, on whose fruits they luxuriated and fattened until their glossy hides afforded the finest peltry imaginable. The war in Europe created a great demand for their skins to decorate the soldiers of the hostile armies; and good ones yielded to the hunters four and five dollars each.

Since that day the attention of the sojourners of this wild region has been turned to the collection of the roots of the ginseng. This beautiful plant grows with great luxuriance and in the most wonderful abundance in the rich virgin soil of the hill and mountain sides.

For more than thirty years the forests have afforded a constant supply of many thousand pounds annually, to the traders stationed at remote points along the water courses. No part of America furnishes a more stately growth of forest trees, embracing all the species of the climate. The lofty Liriodendron, attains the height of eighty and a hundred feet without a limb, having a shaft of from four to six feet in diameter. The white and yellow oak are its rivals in size. The magnolia acuminata towers aloft to an altitude uncommon in any other region; while its more humble relatives, the tripetala and mycrophilla flourish in great beauty by its side. It may be considered the store house for building future cities, when the prolific pines of the Alleghany river are exhausted. In addition to all these vegetable riches, the hills are full of fine beds of bituminous coal, and argillaceous iron ores. From the mouth of the Sandy to the Scioto, a distance of nearly forty miles, the country abounds in iron ores of various qualities; no less than six workable beds being found at different elevations from the bottom of the river to the tops of the hills. They are portions of those immense deposits which are known to accompany the coal measures of the Ohio valley, from the Cumberland range to the foot of the Alleghany mountains. At the period when the Nonpariel floated along this division of the river, they were not known to exist at all; and the iron castings used by the inhabitants were brought from "head waters." Now thousands of tons are annually melted at the numerous furnaces on both sides of the river; and several towns and villages have sprung up by its means.

At the mouth of the Scioto, they made a brief stop at the little village of Alexandria, containing a few log houses. Since then the town of Portsmouth has been built about a mile above, and has become an active manufacturing town, with a population equal in numbers to that of the whole country in 1805. In the northeast portion of the county of Scioto, on the waters of Salt creek, was seated the first, and for several years the only manufactory of salt in this part of Ohio. It was known by the name of the "Scioto saltworks," and supplied a large portion of the inhabitants with salt. It required no less than six hundred gallons of the water to make fifty pounds of salt; *and yet* many thousand bushels were made in a year, and sold at the works for two and three dollars a bushel. From thence it was carried on packhorses into all the remote settlements. At this day, water is procured of such strength on the Muskingum, Hockhocking and Kanawha, that from fifty to seventy gallons afford the same amount.

At the distance of fifty miles below Alexandria the schooner reached the town of Limestone, one of the oldest settlements and earliest landing places for emigrants in Kentucky. It is seated on a high bank of the river, and was at that day a town of considerable commercial importance; being the depot for merchandise intended for the interior of the state, and nearly as much business as Cincinnati. Here they had a very fair offer for the schooner and load, by one of the leading merchants of the place, who had just returned from New Orleans with a loaded barge. The captain gave his opinion in favor of a sale, but the two supercargoes thought they had better continue the voy-

age themselves, and if any profit could be realized on the cargo at New Orleans they should retain it in their own hands. From Portsmouth to Limestone they passed but one town, the little village of Manchester, on the right bank; laid off and settled under the auspices of general Massie, in the year 1791. In the year 1796, the same enterprising pioneer laid the foundation for the town of Chillicothe.

The Nonpariel now unmoored and put out into the stream, proposing to stop at Cincinnati to land general Mansfield and family. The distance between the two towns was sixty miles. New settlements and improvements were springing up along the banks of the river every few miles; and the busy hum of civilization was heard where silence had reigned for ages, except when broken by the scream of the panther, the howl of the wolf, or the yell of the savage. In this distance there are now no less than twelve towns, some of which are of considerable importance. They reached Cincinnati after a voyage of seventeen days; being protracted to this unusual length by adverse winds, a low stage of water, and the frequent stops of general Mansfield on business relating to his department, especially that of determining the meridian and latitude of certain points on the Ohio river. It was now the eighth of May; the peach and the apple had shed their blossoms, and the trees of the forest were clad in their summer dress. Cincinnati, in 1805, contained a population of nine hundred and fifty souls. The enlivening notes of the fife and drum at reveille were no longer heard, and the loud booming of the morning gun as it rolled its echoes along the hills and the winding shores of the river, had ceased to awaken the inhabitants from their slumbers. Cincinnati had been from its first foundation until within a short period the headquarters of the different armies engaged in the Indian wars; and the continual arrival and departure of the troops, the landing of boats and detachments of packhorses with provisions, had given to this little village all the life and activity of a large city. Peace was now restored; and the enlivening hum of commerce was beginning to be heard on the landings, while the bustle and hurry of hundreds of immigrants thronged the streets as they took their departure for the rich valleys of the Miamies, the intended home of many a weary pilgrim from the Atlantic states. The log houses were beginning to disappear—brick and frame buildings were supplying their places. Large warehouses had arisen near the water for the storing of groceries and merchandise, brought up in barges and keel boats from the far distant city of New Orleans.

The upward voyage was performed in favorable seasons, in one hundred and twenty days. Barges at this time were large open boats of eighty or one hundred tons burthen, but were subsequently increased to one hundred and fifty tons. A small quarter deck covered a little cabin for the accommodation of the captain, and afforded a stand for the pilot or steersman. In the bow, a small forecastle protected the sleeping berths of the crew. The waist was occupied with the freight, secured from the weather by a tarpaulin or painted sail cloth stretched on stanchions. Twenty or more oarsmen were seated along the sides, according to the size of the barge; the largest class requiring forty or fifty men at the oars. In addition to the oars they

all had masts and sails, rigged schooner fashion with topmasts; and in the long reaches with a favorable wind made considerable headway against the current of the Mississippi. Their usual progress was from ten to fifteen miles a day. In passing round headlands with a rapid current to stem, a long line was attached to the foremast, and carried up stream by some of the men in a skiff and fastened to a tree; with this line they prevented the boat from swinging out into the stream and losing her headway, while a part of the crew swayed away on the cord, forcing her against the current up to where it was made fast. While this was hauling in, the men in the skiff carried forward another cord and fastened it in the same manner; keeping up the process of "cordelling," as it was called by the boatmen, till they had passed by the rapid water. The common price for freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati, was from six to eight dollars per hundred. The Nonpariel lay at Cincinnati two days, and was greatly admired by the barge and keel boatmen for the beauty of her model, and trim appearance on the water. While lying here a considerable rise in the Ohio took place, which, with the aid of the wind that now proved favorable, greatly accelerated their downward progress. On the Kentucky shore cabins and improvements were much more numerous than on the Ohio side, as this state had been settled a number of years before the latter.

Sixteen miles below Cincinnati, on the right bank of the Ohio, they passed North Bend, the seat of the Hon. John Cleves Symmes. After the close of the war for independence, Mr. Symmes, then chief justice of the state of New Jersey, had early entered into the spirit of purchasing and settling the new territory northwest of the river Ohio, which had lately been placed in the hands of the American congress, by its former claimants, the states of Virginia and Connecticut. It constituted a vast domain equal in extent to many of the kingdoms of Europe. As early as the year 1787, and at the same time with Dr. Cutler, Winthrop Sargent and others, agents of the Ohio land company, J. C. Symmes made application to congress, in the name of himself and associates, for the purchase of a large tract of land lying between the Big and Little Miami rivers. The price was sixty-six cents per acre, to be paid in United States military land warrants and certificates of debt due from the United States to individuals. The payments were divided into six annual instalments. His associates were principally composed of the officers of the New Jersey line, who had served in the war of the revolution. Amongst them were general Dayton and Dr. Boudinot. His first contract was for one million of acres, made in October, 1788, but owing to the difficulty of making the payments, and the embarrassments growing out of the Indian war, the first contract was not fulfilled, and a new one was made for two hundred and forty-eight thousand acres in May, 1794, and a patent issued to him and his associates in September following. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1789, Judge Symmes had located himself at North Bend. At this point the Ohio river makes a northerly sweep, approaching to within a short distance of the Miami. Here he laid out and surveyed the plan of a city, extending across this peninsula similar to that of Philadelphia between the Schuylkill and Delaware

rivers, and named it after himself. Many of the first settlers established themselves at this place. A settlement was also commenced where Cincinnati now stands at the same time. It was no doubt expected that "Symmes city," would be a great town in a few years, as its location was favorable for commerce, and in the midst of a rich region of lands. But the most trifling events sometimes bring our wisest calculations to naught. Like the unfortunate city of Troy of old, it is said that the smiling prospects of the new city were destroyed by the bright eyes and fair features of a woman. Females, ever since the days of Adam, have had a greater influence over the affairs of man than he is willing to acknowledge. There being a prospect of danger from the Indians, the government ordered colonel Harmer to establish a fort between the two Miamies, for the protection of the new settlements. (Vide Letters of judge Burnet to the Ohio Historical society, part 2, vol. 1.) Judge Symmes persuaded the officer to land at North Bend, and while examining the ground for a suitable site for the fort, he became enamored with a beautiful female, the young wife of an immigrant. So long as she remained there, he was satisfied that this was a suitable location for the fort. In the meantime the husband of the woman, becoming jealous of the officious attentions of the officer, removed to Cincinnati. No sooner had she left the settlement, than all the arguments of the judge in favor of the spot were without weight. He marched the detachment to Cincinnati, and immediately laid the foundation of Fort Washington. This sealed the fate of "Symmes city." The Indians soon became hostile, and the new immigrants preferred locating near the fort as a place of greater safety. But for this circumstance, apparently so trivial, North Bend might now have been the site of a city, and Cincinnati that of a small village or even covered with farms. Judge Symmes was a man of sterling integrity and unbounded activity and enterprise. After the war the new settlement grew rapidly into cultivation, being amongst the most fertile lands in the state. The selection was a very judicious one; but many of the first occupants suffered considerably from inaccurate surveys, and loose titles, ending in law suits. This beautiful spot, in years after the voyage of the Nonpariel, became the home of general Harrison, and the resting place of his mortal remains. His wife was the daughter of judge Symmes. He was amongst the early adventurers to the new purchase, and served in the army of general Wayne. In 1791 he was at Fort Washington; and in 1798 was elected the first delegate to congress from the Northwest territory. From the blaze of glory acquired at Tippecanoe, he went on increasing in intellectual lustre and in moral worth, until he was placed by the almost unanimous vote of the people at the highest station in their power to give. His unexpected and universally regretted demise was a powerful illustration of the uncertain termination of all the plans of man. He is interred on the summit of a knoll, which is beautifully conspicuous to miles of the river and country around. Long may his memory be blessed by the thousands who annually pass up and down the Ohio in sight of his tomb, and his name preserved as a watchword by all true lovers of their country.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM NORTH BEND TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

Bigbone and its curiosities—Kentucky river, Beargrass and Corn island—Louisville and the falls—John Graham, Esq.—Salt river and Hendersonville, Water-fowl and birds of prey—Shawneetown—Scenery to the Grand Chain described—Anecdote of Cave-in-rock—Fort Wilkinson, Massac—Grand Chain, pecan, mouth of the Ohio.

Fifty miles below Cincinnati they passed the mouth of Bigbone creek, so named from its running through the Bigbone lick. This celebrated spot is in Kentucky, two miles from the Ohio river, and covers a space of about ten acres. When first visited by the hunters and early settlers of the country, the surface was strewed with the tusks, grinders, ribs, and other bones of the huge mastodon; intermingled with those of several other extinct animals. The collectors of specimens for cabinets of natural history and for museums, have since removed all that were on or near the surface; and they now can only be obtained by digging to a considerable depth. It is estimated by Mr. Cooper, of New York, that the bones of one hundred mastodons, and twenty of the elephant, besides those of several other animals, have been collected at this place. These were probably engulfed in the mud and slime as they contended with each other for the salt water, which is found on the margin of the creek, and deeply impregnates the earth of the lick. It was first made known to hunters by the buffalo paths which led to it from all directions, and were worn deep and wide into the soil for miles in extent as if traveled for ages.

Fifty-two miles above the falls of the Ohio, and ninety below Cincinnati, they passed the mouth of Kentucky river, where there was a small town, and had for several years during the Indian wars been a stockaded garrison. From thence to the falls on either bank of the river there was no town of any note, and but thinly scattered settlements. In two days after leaving Cincinnati, the schooner reached the falls without accident. The first permanent settlement was made here in the year 1778; although land surveyors and hunters had visited the region on Beargrass creek as early as 1773. In the former year thirteen families came down the Ohio from head waters, under the direction of colonel George Rogers Clark, so famous in early western adventure, and who at that time had under his command a detachment of soldiers. Near the Kentucky shore is a large island on which they first located and erected cabins; and from the circumstance of the first crop of corn being raised there, it took the name of "Corn island," and retains it to this day.

In 1780, colonel Clark erected a fort on the main land, and the settlers began to build their log dwellings close under its protection. From this beginning has sprung the present large and commercial city of Louisville. The first store of dry goods opened there was in the year 1783 by Daniel Broadhead. The second in the state was at Lexington, in the spring of the year 1784, by general James Wilkerson. At that period of the visit of the Nonpariel, quite a brisk little town had sprung up and had grown more rapidly since the upward navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers had commenced; this

spot being the carrying place for the merchandise intended for the country above, as the obstruction to navigation by the falls made it necessary for the barges to land a part if not all their freight before attempting the ascent of so rapid a current. At low stages of the river it was very dangerous descending the rapids with boats, and few attempted it when below a certain mark well known to the pilots. From the rocks and islands scattered through this pass the river is divided into three channels or "chutes;" viz. the Kentucky, the middle, and the Indian chute. The latter name was derived from its lying on the north or Indian side of the Ohio; and from the fact of the savages keeping possession of that shore for many years after the whites had occupied the south side. In making this descent, boats were often wrecked and sunk on the rocks which filled and lined the tortuous channels. Aided by the rise in the river and the help of a skilful pilot, the little schooner passed down the middle chute with the rapidity of an arrow, and was safely moored in the harbor at the foot of the falls, now called Shippingsport. At that day not one of the towns which cluster about the falls was in existence; and what is now Louisville sat solitary and alone on the rocky shore of the rapids, with the exception of a few log cabins and one or two store houses at the foot of the falls. At the head, on the Indian shore, were a few cabins, called "Clark's grant."

While lying here they took on board as a passenger John Graham, Esq., who was on his way to New Orleans. This gentleman had recently returned from France, where he had acted as secretary to Mr. Monroe, our minister at Paris. He now was appointed secretary to C. C. Claiborne, governor of the territory of Louisiana, ceded in December, 1803, to the United States. Mr. Graham was in the prime of life; of a noble and commanding person, prepossessing countenance, and agreeable manners. He was a great acquisition to the owners of the Nonpariel, and beguiled the wearysome length of the voyage by his instructive conversation and anecdotes of foreign travels. His father was one of the earliest land adventurers on the Ohio river amidst the vast territory of Virginia, and a tract below Letart's falls is still known by the name of "Graham's station."

Having taken on board a few stores for the larder, the crew unmoored the little schooner and put off in fine spirits for the mouth of the Ohio. With a few exceptions, the whole distance on both shores was a wilderness. Here and there appeared the hut of a new settler, and at remote points a few small towns. At the mouth of Salt river there had once been a frontier garrison of Kentucky, and now stood a few log houses. One hundred and eighty miles below this was the Redbanks, or Hendersonville, quite a small village. Here they came to for a short time to purchase eggs, chickens and milk, which were both cheap and plentiful. A few weeks earlier in the spring, the Ohio, from the mouth of Salt river to the Mississippi, was annually visited by immense flocks of water-fowl; consisting of the various species of ducks common to the western streams, and wild geese. Some of the ducks were of the most rich and beautiful plumage, while others were celebrated for their fine flavored meat and excellencies for the table. They abounded to an extent and multiplicity of num-

bers that no one at this day would believe, unless he had been an eye witness. They had now mostly taken their flight to the great northern lakes; though a few still lingered behind as if unwilling to leave so favorite a feeding ground; sufficient however were left to afford Graham and Charles Devoll, who were both keen sportsmen, ample employment with their rifles, as they floated calmly along, and many a fine roast for their dinners. Eagles and vultures were seen in great numbers in a region that so much abounded with their favorite food. The former bird, it is said, never feeds on tainted or putrid meat, but seeks a fresh supply for every meal. From this circumstance, well known to western hunters, the flesh of the bald eagle was considered by many of them fully equal, if not superior to that of the wild turkey, and always eaten when fat. By one who has often partaken of their meat, I am told that he considered it a richer and nicer food than that of the turkey. Another peculiarity of this noble bird is, that he never makes two meals from the same carcass, but leaves it to be devoured by the less fastidious vulture and turkey-buzzard.

Fifty-four miles below the Redbanks, and ten miles below the mouth of the Wabash, they passed Shawneetown, at that time consisting of only a few log houses, and formerly belonging to the Shawnee Indians. In a few years after this period it became a noted landing place for immigrants removing to Illinois and Missouri; but in 1805 the whole of that country, excepting a few French settlements, was in the possession of the savages.

From Shawneetown to the "Grand Chain," just below old Fort Wilkerson, the Ohio is bordered with the richest and most romantic scenery to be seen between Pittsburgh and its mouth. As the Nonpariel floated quietly along past "Battery Rock," "Cave-in-rock" and "Tower Rock," noted promontories on the right bank of the river, some of which have their bases in the stream as they rise in perpendicular cliffs from the shore; Graham could not withhold his exclamations of delight at the various beauties which were unfolded at every turn of the river. The rich green of the forests, the graceful curves of the hillsides, reflected in the placid bosom of the Ohio, to be seen and enjoyed, should be viewed from the deck of some quiet boat as she floats calmly along with the current, and not from the hurried and rapid moving steam-boat. The entrance of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, with Hurricane and Diamond islands, are all interesting and prominent points of the scenery of this region. Had those streams pursued their course a few miles farther, before joining the Ohio, they would have united their waters like the Alleghany and Monongahela. On the summit of "Tower Rock" there is said to be a mound constructed of large blocks of stone, erected by those ancient people who once inhabited this country as an observatory or watchtower. In the face of the "Cave-in-rock" there is a notable cavern, often visited by travelers and persons descending the river in flatboats—steam-boats being always in too great a hurry to bestow any time on the picturesque or beautiful. This cavern or grotto has been chiseled by the tooth of time in a compact lime rock; and is one hundred and sixty feet in length, eighty-eight feet in width, and forty feet in height at the entrance; tapering away gradually to its extremity, like the ex-

panded mouth of some huge animal. A few years before this voyage the cave had been the den of a gang of river highwaymen, composed of renegade white men and Indians: the captain was by the name of Wilson. Some boats were enticed ashore by a sign board on which was written in large letters, "Boat stores and tavern." From this it took the name of Cave-inn-rock. Others, which could not be enticed to land, were boarded from canoes and taken by force. The crews were murdered and boats plundered. If loaded with provisions for the Orleans market, a crew of their own men was put on board and the load sold at some town on the Mississippi, the hands returning by land with the money. They were finally routed by an armed boat sent on purpose from head waters, as most of the plundered boats were from that quarter.

As the Nonpariel approached near the mouth of this dreaded cave, a little after twilight, they were startled at seeing the bright blaze of a fire at its entrance. Knowing of its former fame as the den of a band of robbers, they could not entirely suppress the suspicions it awoke in their minds of its being again occupied for the same purpose. Nevertheless as they had previously determined not to pass this noted spot without making it a visit, they anchored the schooner a little distance from the shore and landed in the skiff. Being well armed with pistols they marched boldly up to the cavern; when, instead of being greeted with the rough language and scowling visages of a band of robbers, they found the cave occupied with smiling females and sportive children. A part of the women were busily occupied with their spinning wheels, while others prepared the evening meal. Their suspicions however were not fully removed by all these appearances of domestic peace; still thinking that the men must be secreted in some hidden corner of the cave ready to fall on them unawares. On a little further conversation they found the present occupants of the dreaded cave consisted of four young immigrant families from Kentucky, going to settle in Illinois. The females were yet in the bloom of life. Their husbands had bought or taken up lands a few miles back from the river, and after moving their families and household goods to this spot had returned to their former residences to bring out their cattle; in the mean time leaving their wives and children in the occupancy of the cave till their return. At that early day nearly all the wearing apparel of the inhabitants, and quite all their bedding, was manufactured within their own dwellings; and these hardy occupiers of the frontiers, having been brought up like the virtuous woman, "whose price is above rubies," to turn their hands to the distaff, and having brought with their spinning wheels and looms an abundance of flax, spent the weary days of their husbands' absence in the useful employment of spinning. A large fire in the mouth of the cave gave cheerfulness to the gloomy spot, and enabled them at night to proceed with their labors, while its bright rays were reflected from the looms, beds and household utensils, which lay piled up along the side of the cave. By day the sun afforded them light, the mouth being spacious and elevated, while the roof sheltered them from the rain. They were in daily expectation of the arrival of their husbands, when they would move out on to their farms in company.

A little conversation soon dissipated all suspicions of harm from the minds of their visitors, for when was woman ever known to act the part of a betrayer? and borrowing from them a torch, they explored the hidden recesses of the cave. At this time no vestiges of its former occupants remained but a few scattered barrel staves and the traces of their fires against the blackened sides of the rock. The walls, even at that early day, were thickly scored with the names of former visitors, to which they hastily added their own, and thousands have no doubt been added since. Bidding a warm farewell to this singular and solitary community, they entered their boat, greatly wondering at the courage and confidence of these lonely females. Their surprise however in a manner subsided, when they reflected that they were the daughters of Kentucky, and from the land of Daniel Boon.

At the head of the Grand Chain on the right bank stood Fort Wilkerson, being one of the cordon of defences built by the United States during the Indian war to keep the savages in check. The town of Wilkersonville stands on its site. It was erected under the superintendence of colonel Strong, an officer with general St. Clair, and an inmate of the garrison at Marietta, at the breaking out of the war in 1790. Old Fort Massac was built by the French, and had long since gone to decay; it was fifteen miles above Fort Wilkerson. Some years after the building of this fort, colonel Strong, whose employment confined him to the malarious shores of the Mississippi, sickened with a fever and visited the cedar bluffs and high banks of Fort Wilkerson for the recovery of his health. He however died here; shortly after which his son died also in the prime of life; and both lie buried near its walls. Charles and Barker both landed and visited their graves, as they had formerly been intimately acquainted with them while living in the garrison at Marietta.

The "Grand Chain," quite an imposing name, is a large ledge of rocks which crossed the Ohio in a very oblique direction from the Kentucky to the Illinois shore, and would seem to have been the base of a range of hills called by Schoolcraft the "Shawnee mountains," cut across by the river in its youthful days. It however occasions but little obstruction to navigation except in very low stages of water. From the head of the Grand Chain to the mouth of the Ohio is twenty miles. At that day the whole distance was a wilderness and the shores covered with a dense forest. From the mouth of the Ohio to the Wabash are found several species of trees not common to the country above the falls: amongst them is the pecan, which is so abundant in some districts on the lower portion of the river as to form groves or natural orchards of this species of tree. "Pekaun," is a Shawnee word, and means "the nut." The catalpa is also found growing here as indigenous to the climate, perfuming the air with its immense clusters of rich blossoms. The land at the mouth of the Ohio is level and low, subject to frequent inundations by floods in the Ohio and Mississippi. Were it not for this circumstance, and were the site otherwise favorable, under a wise policy we might expect in this neighborhood would rise one of the largest commercial cities in the Union. Several efforts have been made to build towns in that vicinity without success. *(To be continued.)*

POST OFFICE FACILITIES.

Auditor's Office, Post Office Dep't., Feb. 14, 1842.

Sir,—I approve of the plan of the American Pioneer, and of the style of the first number. I have long desired that efforts be used to preserve the history of our western early settlements. The characters of so many are concerned, that many incidents and facts cannot be published now without wounding the feelings of near or remote relatives; and in such cases such incidents and facts should be put upon record in a manner suited to their importance, for the use of some future historian, and for the benefit of posterity.

Much, however, may be published now with perfect propriety.

In the West we have almost verified the prediction that "a nation shall be born in a day;" and having it in our power to perpetuate a full and perfect history of our unparalleled increase and extension of population, it seems to me we shall be faithless to our trust, if we permit those "who have converted the wilderness into the fruitful field," to descend to their graves without obtaining from them the valuable knowledge they possess.

I am heart and hand with you in your undertaking; but when I say this, you will permit me to express my regret, that your associa tion was not incorporated with the Historical Society of Ohio, or that you are not auxiliary to it. County associations are necessary to glean the field well, while a central association is essential to embody the information that may be obtained, and to unite the talent and intelligence of the whole state.

You ask whether you can prevail on me to send to you some information relative to the first establishment and successive increase of the post office facilities in the United States. You also express a desire to know when the first stage crossed the mountains. The first establishment of the post office system is nearly coeval with the first settlement of the country. Information can only be obtained from annals, and the histories of the colonies, of what was done to establish the post office system, and to extend its usefulnes before the confederation of the colonies in 1775. After that event the journals of congress, and the statutes, contain a full history of what has been done by the national legislature. The post master general during most, if not all the time that has intervened since the adoption of the constitution, has directed the mode and manner of transporting the mail. The contracts anterior to 1815 were destroyed by the fire that consumed the post office building in December, 1836.

Since you wrote to me on the 2d instant, a manuscript compilation of the annals of the post office department, by E. F. Brown, formerly a clerk, was put into my hands by Mr. Marron, its chief clerk.

That part of it which is from history before the confederation I shall send to you, not doubting its accuracy. As you want facts and not essays, I may hereafter continue the history, by extracts from the journals of the old congress and acts of congress, and from reports of post masters general, and from reports of committees.

I have written to several gentlemen, from whom I hope to obtain information to answer your inquiry as to the time when the first stage passed the mountains, and also as to other matters that may interest you and your readers. I am very respectfully yours,

E. Whittlesey

John S. Williams, Esqr.

Without knowing that the writer intended it for the public eye, we publish the above letter, which contains suggestions too valuable to be lost or confined to our individual observance. Its source is entitled to the highest consideration, and for the following very valuable annals which it enclosed, the readers and editor of the Pioneer lie under a debt of gratitude to him, and through him to those from whose industry and care he obtained them. We are permitted to hope for further contributions on this interesting subject.

Who can sufficiently admire the great machinery of the post office department, or be sufficiently thankful to the Giver of all good for the blessings dispensed through it. What an organ of communication! What an aid to the march of mind, the growth of intellect, the exchange of ideas! Where each gives what he has and nothing loses.

This is but a part of the whole system of government and laws under which we are rising to greatness. Reader, contemplate the inceptive state of post office facilities as exhibited below, and then think what it is now; think that now the post offices amount to full fourteen thousand, and that the length of all the mail routes in the United States extended would reach six times round the earth! Think also that the transportation of the mail would reach one thousand four hundred times round the earth every year! And this but a part of the benefits of that government under which we live. Are you not mute in astonishment? And do you not almost tremble lest some mighty jar with one tremendous crash will tumble all to ruin? But when we consider that our lives depend upon the strength of threads too minute for ocular inspection, and that the existence of the world depends upon the most nicely adjusted balances, and that all are under the supervision of that Eye which never sleeps, we may rest assured that all are safe, if from our own waywardness we do not bring ruin upon ourselves.

ANNALS.

Doctor Snow, in his History of Boston, says, "Something like the rudiments of a post office is discoverable in the colony records in May, 1677; when, upon petition of several merchants of Boston, Massachusetts, the court appointed Mr. John Hayward, scrivener, 'to take in and convey letters according to their directions.'"

This, it is believed, was the first post office in America. If there were any before it they must have been very unimportant, or some of the many histories which have been examined would certainly make mention of them.

Mr. Watson, in his Annals of Philadelphia, says, "that in the month of July, 1683, William Penn issued an order for the establishment of a post office at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and granted to Henry Waldy, of Tekonay, authority to hold one, and to supply travelers with horses from Philadelphia to Newcastle, Delaware, or to the Falls." The rates of postage were as follows, viz. letters from the Falls to Philadelphia, three pence; to Chester, five pence; to Newcastle, seven pence; to Maryland, nine pence; and from Philadelphia to Chester, two pence; to Newcastle, four pence; to Maryland, six pence. This post went once a week, and it was to be carefully *published on the meeting-house door* and other public places.

The Rev. Dr. Holmes, in his American Annals, says, "In 1692 a patent was laid before the Virginia assembly for making Mr. Neal post master general of Virginia and other parts of America; but, though the assembly passed an act in favor of this patent, it had no effect. The reason assigned was, that it was impossible to carry it into execution on account of the dispersed situations of the inhabitants."

The first legislative interference with the post office appears to have been in the year 1700, when the colonial government passed an act for the establishment of a post office at Philadelphia.

Col. John Hamilton, of New Jersey, son of Gov. Andrew Hamilton, first devised the post office scheme for British America, for which he obtained a patent and the profit which accrued.

After Col. Hamilton had enjoyed his patent a short time, he sold it to the British government, and in 1710 parliament passed an act entitled "An act for establishing a general post office for all her majesty's dominions, and for setting a weekly sum out of the revenues thereof for the service of the war, and other her majesty's occasions." It required that one general letter office and post office should be erected in London, and other chief letter offices in Scotland, Ireland, North America, and the West Indies. The post master general, who was a

member of parliament, was authorized by that act to keep one chief letter office in New York, and other chief letter offices in some convenient place or places in each of her majesty's provinces or colonies in America. The rates of postage for all letters and packets, from New York to any place within sixty miles thereof, and thence back to New York, were fixed as follows, viz. single, four pence; double, eight pence; treble, one shilling; an ounce, one shilling and four pence.

In 1704, the first newspaper published in the English colonies appeared in Boston. It was published by John Campbell, a Scotchman, who was established there as a bookseller. The first number of that paper contained the following notice:—

"All persons in town and country may have said Newsletter weekly upon reasonable terms, agreeing with John Campbell, post master, for the same."

This John Campbell was reappointed post master at Boston under the new act of 1710.

In 1711, a mail from Boston to Plymouth and Maine went once a week, and a mail from Boston to Connecticut and New York went once a fortnight.

In December, 1717, advice from Boston, Massachusetts, to Williamsburg, Virginia, could be completed in four weeks during those months between March and December, and in double that time during the other months in the year.

In 1727, the mail from Philadelphia to Annapolis, Maryland, by way of Newcastle, Delaware, to the western shore, and back by the eastern shore, was to run once a fortnight in summer, and once a month in winter, and was managed by William Bradford in Philadelphia, and by William Parks in Annapolis.

Dr. Franklin, in his Life, says, in 1737, "Col. Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then post master general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering and want of exactness in framing his accounts, took from him the commission and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for, though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income."

In 1738, Henry Pratt was appointed riding post master for all the routes between Philadelphia and Newport, in Virginia; to set out in the beginning of each month, and to return in twenty-four days. Notice was given that "to him merchants, &c. might confide letters and other business, he having given security to the post master general."

In 1745, John Dalley, a surveyor, informed the public that he had just made a survey of the road from Trenton to Amboy, in New Jersey, and had set up marks at every two miles to guide travelers. It was paid for by private subscriptions, and he proposed to survey the whole road from Philadelphia to New York in the same way if a sufficient sum could be made up.

Although there was at that time no surveyed road, and of course no road opened between the two largest cities in the colonies, the population had increased to a very considerable extent. The Family Encyclopedia states that the population of the whole thirteen American colonies, in 1749, amounted to one million and forty-six thousand.

It was not until 1753 that the practice of delivering letters by the penny post or letter carrier, and of advertising letters on hand, commenced. So few and scattering were the post offices, that letters and packets for all persons residing in Newtown, Bristol, Chester, Pennsylvania, and even in Newcastle, Delaware, were sent to the post office in Philadelphia, where they remained until called for. Bristol is twenty miles from Philadelphia, and Newcastle is forty miles from Philadelphia, in an opposite direction, making a distance of sixty miles with but one post office.

The mail from Philadelphia to the north, in that year, went and returned but once a week in summer, and once a fortnight in winter, just as it did twenty-five years before.

On the death of the deputy post master general of America, in 1753, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who had been for some time previously employed by him as his comptroller, in regulating the several offices and bringing post masters to account, was appointed jointly with Mr. William Hu—— to succeed him, by a commission from the post master general in England. Dr. Franklin, in his Life, says, "The American office had never hitherto paid any thing to that of Britain: we were to have six hundred pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office." To do this many improvements were necessary.

In October, 1754, a new impulse was given to the establishment, so that the mail was to leave Philadelphia for New York every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, in the fall, spring and summer, and once a week in winter. That was considered a great improvement, and was the result of Dr. Franklin's good management.

In 1755, notice was given that, to aid trade, &c. arrangements had been made by which the winter mail from Philadelphia to New England, which used to set out but once a fortnight, should thereafter set out once a week as in summer, so that answers to letters from Phila-

delphia to Boston might be obtained in three weeks, which used to require six weeks.

Dr. William Douglass, in his Historical and Political Summary of the British Settlements in North America, printed in 1755, while on the subject of mails, routes, &c., says, "From Piscataqua or Portsmouth to Philadelphia is a regular postage, from thence to Williamsburgh is uncertain, because the post does not proceed until letters are lodged sufficient to pay the charge of the post riders. From Williamsburgh, in Virginia, to Charlestown, in South Carolina, the post carriage is still more uncertain. There is a deputy post master general for America, appointed by the post master general in London: New York is appointed for his official residence; but by connivance he resides any where; at present in Virginia, Elliot Bengor, Esq.; formerly Mr. Loyd, in South Carolina."

The foregoing is supposed to refer to the year 1748 or 1749. It could not have referred to 1755, as Dr. Franklin was deputy post master general at that time. Dr. Douglass also states that there were then but fifteen hundred and thirty-two miles of post roads, viz:—eastern parts of Massachusetts Bay, 143; New Hampshire, 20; western division of Massachusetts Bay, 89; Rhode Island, 58; Connecticut, 126; New York, 57; New Jersey, 54; Pennsylvania, 78; Maryland 144; Virginia, 215; North Carolina, 247; South Carolina and Georgia, 301; total, 1532 miles.

For a transcript of the following law, we are indebted to the kindness of major Daniel Gano, of Cincinnati. It is most likely the basis of the first staging done in the United States. There are thousands who can remember farther back. Contrast it with the present. Then government had to encourage staging; now there is opposition upon opposition. How long before the culture of silk will follow? It is impossible even to estimate the present amount of staging. We can give no more than the extent to which the mail is carried in stages. We find that it would reach eight hundred times around this globe of earth and water every year! We can well remember when the first stages crossed the Alleghanies on the Cumberland route. More than that, we can remember the time when *packhorses* were the principal mode of conveyance across them. Yes, and when there were but two post offices in the Northwest territory—now, four states and a territory; and when the present mail routes, if extended, would much more than encircle this globe, and over which the mail is transported *in stages* to a distance that would in every year out-stretch one hundred and fifty equators which encircle the earth. We treat of facts, and will, in another place, give the data upon which to calculate. We positively do not know the country in which we live. Many of us know other countries better than our own.

LAWS OF NEW YORK, EIGHTH SESSION, 1785.—[Chap. 52, page 45.]

An act to grant to Isaac Van Wyck and others, an exclusive right of keeping stage wagons on the east side of Hudson's river, between the cities of New York and Albany, for the term of ten years. Passed the fourth of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-five.

Whereas Isaac Van Wyck, Talmadge Hall and John Kinney have, by their petition, prayed that on account of the great expense and labor attending the undertaking, an exclusive right of carrying on a stage from the cities of New York and Albany might be granted them for the term of ten years; and whereas the erecting a stage as aforesaid, will tend to promote the ease and benefit of the people;

I. Be it enacted by the people of the state of New York, represented in senate and assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the said Isaac Van Wyck, Talmadge Hall and John Kinney, and their respective executors, administrators and assigns, shall have, hold, possess and enjoy, and are hereby given, granted and allowed the sole and exclusive right, liberty and permission for the term of ten years, the same to commence on the first day of June next, to erect, set up, carry on and drive, at all time and times hereafter, during the term aforesaid, all and every such stage wagon or wagons from the said cities of New York and Albany respectively to the other, on the east side of Hudson's river, as they may judge sufficient for the purpose of accommodating such a number of passengers as may from time to time apply. And that it shall not be lawful for, nor shall any other person or persons upon any pretence whatever presume, during the term aforesaid, to erect, set up, carry on or drive any stage wagon or wagons, or any other carriage or carriages for the like purpose, from the said cities respectively, under the penalty of two hundred pounds, to be recovered by any person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, together with costs, in any court of record having cognizance of the same.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said Isaac Van Wyck, Talmadge Hall and John Kinney, their executors, administrators and assigns shall furnish and provide at least two good and sufficient covered stage wagons, to be drawn each by four able horses for the purposes aforesaid; and that the price for each and every passenger therein, shall not exceed four pence per mile, including the liberty of carrying fourteen pounds weight of baggage. That for every hundred and fifty pounds weight of baggage, a like sum of four pence per mile shall be paid for the same; and so in like proportion for every greater or less quantity. And that such stage wagon or wagons shall proceed at least once in every week, during the said term of ten years, on the passage or journey aforesaid from the respective cities aforesaid, unless the same are prevented by the badness of the roads or some uncommon accident.

Provided always, That in case the said Isaac Van Wyck, Talmadge Hall and John Kinney, their executors, administrators or assigns, shall neglect or refuse to do and perform the duties aforesaid according to the true intent and meaning of this act, that in such case this act shall cease, and be null and void.

STATISTICS.

THE following valuable information was mostly extracted from the American Almanac, a deservedly popular work published in Boston, Massachusetts.

POPULATION OF THE COLONIES.

Colonies.	*Settled.*	1701.	1749.
Massachusetts	1620	70,000	220,000
Connecticut	1635	30,000	100,000
Rhode Island	1636	10,000	35,000
New Hampshire	1623	10,000	30,000
New York	1614	30,000	100,000
New Jersey	1624	15,000	60,000
Pennsylvania	1682	20,000	250,000
Delaware	1627		
Maryland	1633	25,000	85,000
Virginia	1607	40,000	85,000
North Carolina	1650	5,000	45,000
South Carolina	1670	7,000	30,000
Georgia	1633		6,000
	Total,	262,000	1,046,000

POPULATION OF COLONIES AND CITIES AT IRREGULAR PERIODS.

New Hampshire—1730, 12,000; 1767, 5,270; 1775, 80,038.
Maine—1795, 20,778.
Massachusetts—1742, 164,000; 1763, 21,024; 1765, 227,926; 1776, 348,094.
Boston—1700, 7,000; 1722, 10,567; 1743, 16,382; 1752, 17,574; 1765, 15,520.
Salem—1754, 3,462; 1765, 4,427.
Rhode Island—1730, 17,935; 1748, 34,128; 1755, 46,636; 1774, 59,678.
Connecticut—1756, 130,611; 1774, 197,856.
New York—1731, 50,395; 1771, 163,338.
New York city—1696, 4,302; 1731, 8,628; 1756, 10,381; 1773, 21,876.
Pennsylvania—1763, 280,000.
Philadelphia—1731, 12,000; 1753, 18,000.
Maryland—1660, 12,000; 1676, 16,000; 1701, 25,000; 1733, 36,000; 1755, 108,000; 1763, 70,000 whites.
Virginia—1642, 20,000; 1660, 30,000; 1663, 60,606; 1763, 170,000.
North Carolina—1763, 95,000 whites.
South Carolina—1701, 7,000; 1750, 64,000; 1765, 13,000.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Six enumerations. In 1790, 3,929,827; 1800, 5,305,925; 1810, 7,239,814; 1820, 9,638,131; 1830, 12,866,920: 1840. 17,062,566.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

States.	1775.	1810.	1828.	*States.*	1775.	1810.	1828.
Maine,			29	Florida,		1	2
Massachusetts,	7	32	78	Alabama,			10
New Hampshire,	1	12	17	Mississippi,		4	6
Vermont,		14	21	Louisiana,		10	9
Rhode Island,	2	7	14	Tennessee,		6	8
Connecticut,	4	11	33	Kentucky,		17	23
New York,	4	66	161	Ohio,		14	66
New Jersey,		8	22	Indiana,			17
Pennsylvania,	9	71	185	Michigan,			2
Delaware,		2	4	Illinois,			4
Maryland,	2	21	37	Missouri,			5
District of Columbia,		6	9	Arkansas,			1
Virginia,	2	23	34	Cherokee nation,			1
North Carolina,	2	10	20				
South Carolina,	3	10	16	Total,	37	358	802
Georgia,	1	13	18				

MAIL TRANSPORTATION.

In 1749—Whole length of mail routes, 1532 miles. Ditto in 1840, 155,739 miles Annual transportation, 36,370,776 miles. Ditto in stages, 20,299,278 miles.

In 1840—In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—Length of routes, 34,548 miles. Annual transportation, 6,711,622 miles. Ditto in stages, 3,730,942 miles.

"LOGAN'S SPRING."

[Communicated for the Pioneer by Dr. S. P. Hildreth.]

The following anecdote of Logan, the celebrated Mingo chief, is so characteristic of his magnanimity and genuine love of the whites, that it is well worth preserving. When not goaded to madness by the injustice and cruelties of the Americans, and under the influence of that all-absorbing passion, revenge, he was one of the most mild and kind hearted of men. That particular injury being canceled, benevolence and kindly feelings often predominate even in the savage heart, returning in full force, and all former injuries are forgotten. Could a disciple of Spurzhiem get possession of this Mingo hero's skull, the organ of benevolence, as well as that of combativeness, would be found largely developed. In a valley, in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, on the Kishaquoqullus creek, a branch of the Juniata, about the year 1767, lived Mr. Samuel Maclay, a noted hunter and surveyor of wild lands. He was a man of uncommon activity and courage; standing high in the estimation of the early settlers of that remote part of Pennsylvania. After the war of the revolution, he was for several years speaker of the senate of that state. A few years after the capture of Fort Duquesne, and before peace was finally concluded with the Indian tribes engaged on the side of the French, Mr. Maclay was out on a surveying excursion. One evening, after a fatiguing day's march, examining the country and fixing the boundaries of lots, he encamped in a fine open wood, near a large spring, the water of which gushed pure and limpid from the earth, in a hollow way between two low hills. After eating his meal of broiled venison, and drinking heartily from the spring, he stretched himself on a fine bed of leaves, with his feet to the fire, and slept very quietly through the night.

Early in the morning he was suddenly awakened from his quiet slumbers by the low growl of his faithful dog, who lay crouched by his side. As he opened his eyes in the direction of the first rays of the morning light, the figure of a large Indian was seen in bold relief against the clear sky, only a few yards from him, on the top of the low hill opposite. He was in the act of cocking his gun, with the barrel resting on his left arm, and at the same time looking intently on Mr. Maclay. Surprised, but not dismayed, he seized the rifle that lay by his side, and sprang to his feet. The Indian remained in the same attitude without any attempt to tree, or further motion of firing. They both remained in the same posture a few seconds, closely eyeing each other. At length the Indian slowly opened the pan of his

rifle and threw out the powder. Maclay did the same; and laying down his weapon, approached the Indian with outstretched hand in token of peace. The warrior did the same, and all enmity disappeared immediately. This Indian was the celebrated Logan, afterwards so cruelly treated by white men. The spring near which this incident occurred is still called "Logan's spring." They remained for many years after, and until the encroachments of the borderers drove the Indians west of the Ohio, warm and devoted friends; and the descendants of Mr. Maclay, from one of whom this incident was received, still venerate the name of Logan.

Who but Logan could throw the priming out of his gun when facing an armed enemy of another nation and color? Very few indeed. The above incident Dr. H. says he received from W. Maclay Awl, M. D., of Columbus, from whom we received another anecdote which shows the spirit of the Mingo chief. Dr. Awl says his uncle had a very finely mounted gun, much admired by Logan, who wished to try Mr. Maclay's expertness with it, as well as the goodness of the rifle. He proposed to shoot against it for a dollar per shot. Mr. Maclay and Logan joined in competition, and continued it nearly the whole of one afternoon, near Logan's cabin. Mr. Maclay beat Logan four shots, and was about to depart, when Logan said, "Will you not come in and get your four dollars?" Mr. Maclay said, "O never mind, John, that is nothing between *us*, you know." Logan immediately exclaimed, at the same time violently striking his breast, "*Captain John Logan is a man.*" Mr. Maclay saw it would not do to refuse the money, and took it. Dr. Awl also told us that there is scarce any thing more certain than that Logan spoke English well, and it would much surprise him for any one to insinuate that he could not. We think that, hopeless as the task might seem at first, the readers of the Pioneer will soon be made intimately acquainted with the whole of Logan's life and character, as well as those of thousands of others, and of circumstances which now seem shrouded in impenetrable darkness. Such is the power of the periodical press, which in its evolutions turns up matter unknown before, and which otherwise would be inevitably lost.

Although poetry, in general, is not concordant with the spirit and intention of the Pioneer, yet the occasional introduction of descriptive poetry may be a benefit, in taking off the rough edge which bold pioneer adventure has a tendency to induce. It is undoubtedly right to cultivate the better affections; and under this consideration we think every reader will be pleased with the insertion of the following lines, written for the Pioneer, and communicated by their author, Joseph D. Canning, Esq., of Gill, Massachusetts. They speak for themselves.

THE SHADE OF LOGAN.

Through the wilds of the West, in the fall of the year,
A wanderer strayed in pursuit of the deer;
And clad in the garb of the hunter was he—
The moccasined foot, and the bead-gartered knee.

Though far towards the sunrise the wanderer's home,
He loved in the gardens of nature to roam;
By her melodies charmed, by her varying tale,
He followed through forest and prairie her trail.

By the shore of a river at sunset he strayed,
And lingered to rest 'neath a sycamore shade;
For soft was the breath of the summer-like air,
And the sweetest of scenes for a painter was there.

He mused: and in slumber the past was restored,
When thy waters, Scioto, a wilderness shored!
And the Shade of a Mingo before him uprose—
The friend of the white man, the fear of his foes.

Erect and majestic his form as of yore;
The mists of the stream as a mantle he wore;
And o'er his dark bosom the bright wampum showed,
Like the hues of the bow on the folds of a cloud.

The tones of his voice were the accents of grief,
For gloomy and sad was the Shade of the Chief;
And low as the strain of the whispering shell
His words on the ear of the slumberer fell:—

"I appeal to the white man ungrateful, to say
If he e'er from my cabin went hungry away?
If naked and cold unto Logan he came,
And he gave him no blanket, and kindled no flame?

"When war, long and bloody, last deluged the land,
Not Logan was seen at the head of his band;
From his cabin he looked for the fighting to cease,
And, scorned by his brethren, wrought the wampum of peace.

"My love to the white man was steadfast and true,
Unlike the deep hatred my red brothers knew;
With him I had thought to have builded my home,
No more o'er the forest and prairie to roam.

"When the leaf which pale Autumn is withering now
Was fresh from its budding, and green on the bough,
Unprovoked, by the white man my kindred were slain,
And Logan became the wild Indian again!

" There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins
Of any who lives—not a mortal remains!
Not even my wife or my children were spared—
All alike at the hand of the murderer shared!

" This called for revenge, and to seek it I rose;
My hatchet is red with the blood of my foes,
The ghosts of the dead are appeased by their sire—
I have glutted my vengeance, and scorn to retire!

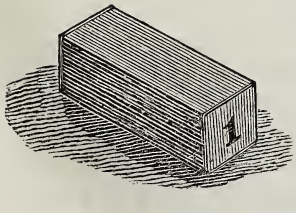
" I joy for my country that peace should appear,
But think not that mine is the gladness of fear.
Logan never felt fear. In the deadliest strife
He 'll not turn on his heel for the saving of life.

" Who is there to sorrow for Logan? Not one!"
Thus spoke, and the Shade of the Mingo was gone!
But, LOGAN, thy words in his mem'ry are borne,
Who waking did mourn thee, and ever will mourn.

PRESERVATION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

IT is a *disideratum* with the Logan Historical Society, to preserve the manuscripts of the present day to the remotest ages of posterity, or at least, to use other words, as near FOREVER as the power and sagacity of man will effect. It is well known that the action of the atmosphere will destroy the color of the inks in common use. In one hundred years, at farthest, the iron seems to leave the tanin of the gall nut a dirty brown; and, it is said, three hundred years totally efface all the lineaments of our common inks. We have manuscripts now lying before us, no more than fifty years old, which, instead of black, are reduced to brown. It is true, ink might be prepared to last better, and oil ink forever. But the object is to preserve such manuscripts as are already written, or will unquestionably be written with just such ink as is commonly used.

It is not only inks that give way, but the texture of paper seems to be corroded by long exposure to the atmosphere. This would take place let the inks be what they might, and seems to show the necessity of pursuing some method of keeping paper from the inroads of earth, air, fire, water and insects. These all seem to war against the preservation of them. To preserve them from dust, moisture, atmosphere and insects, it has been proposed to encase files of papers, printed and written, in air-tight metalic cases, regularly numbered and indexed, so that it may be known what is contained in each case without opening it. One of these cases now lies before us, filled with manuscripts. It is three



and a half inches square by eight in length, and contains the original proceedings of the Logan Historical Society, all the manuscript copy of the first number of the American Pioneer, (except editorials,) and many other papers, which it is desirable to keep. Those cases for keeping newspapers, one of which also lies before us, are in every way similar, except that they are nine and a half instead of eight inches long. Having a press for the purpose, all the papers are pressed before they are put in, and admit of very little air to remain with them. Lest there should be enough to sustain animal life, a small amount of aromatics are cased up with them.

We think when the society is fairly organized agreeably to its wishes, and has an office built, in which there shall be nothing combustible but the papers themselves, and shall have that office protected from electric shocks, they will have done all they can do to put posterity in possession of as complete a knowledge of our days as it is in the power of man to do. We have but little doubt, however, but that other and better methods may, and we hope will be suggested: this being the case, the society will be disposed to adopt them.

Who does not see the great utility such an arrangement would be to posterity? What would our historians now give for a mine such as that would be three hundred years hence, containing the most minute account of things done two or three hundred years back? Family records, copied from old Bibles and transferred to the cases of this society, in many instances would be of great benefit in the settlement of family lineage, in fixing titles to estates, &c. &c., long, long after the Bibles themselves, with the utmost care of their owners, will have been destroyed.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

It is the intention of the editor to extract from history the leading events of the discovery, settlement and improvement of North America, and place them in chronological order. This is calculated to give a comprehensive view of these subjects in a small compass. It will also give the youthful and retentive mind a good opportunity of remembering many of the great events, and connect them with their true dates in his mind. It is hoped also, by this method, to inspire readers with the desire of searching and reading history. Another motive for presenting the leading events of history in a condensed form is, that without a knowledge of prior events, subsequent events cannot be so well understood in many cases, and in scarce any cases can they possess so much interest. As it is the function of the Pioneer more particularly to collect and present unpublished historical sketches, it seems necessary for the better understanding of them, and to make the work more completely useful, that we condense published history into a small compass, and present it in as regular order as the state of our researches will admit. In a field so wide and so varied, and with a mind much employed in editing the Pioneer,

the editor does not flatter himself that he can give a complete view of historical events at first, in his chronological tables, but he hopes with a good degree of care, and by the assistance, advice and corrections of his friends, to present a view of history that will be found useful. The Pioneer being a periodical, opportunity is thus offered to correct these tables, and even to go back and retrace, by bringing in more events, either of equal or of less importance, and thus by a long continued research and frequent additions, he hopes they will become useful depositories of much interesting information in a very narrow compass.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

1447. Christopher Columbus born.
1461. Columbus commenced a seafaring life.
1467. Columbus made a voyage to Iceland.
1471. European navigators first crossed the equator.
1474. Columbus first entertained an idea of western discoveries.
1487. Bartholomew Diaz discovered the cape of Good Hope, in Africa.
1492. August 3d.—Columbus commenced his first voyage of western discovery.
Oct. 21.—Discovered the island of San Salvador, in America.
1497. John Cabot discovered North America, and called it Nova Vista, or New Found Land.
Vasco de Gama doubled the cape of Good Hope.
1498. Columbus discovered the continent, at the mouth of the Oronoco, in South America.
Land of the United States discovered by Sebastian, son of John Cabot.
1499. May.—Objeda and Amerigo Vespucci re-discovered the continent of South America, also at the mouth of the Oronoco; and by management, unjustly deprived Columbus of the name of the new world.
1500. Columbus arrested by Bovadilla, in Hispaniola, and sent to Europe in chains, where he was liberated.
1501. Plans laid in England for colonizing America.
Gaspar Cortreal, a Portuguese, visits North America.
1502. Bovadilla disgraced.
Columbus prosecutes his discoveries.
1508. The French discover the river St. Lawrence.
1512. Juan Ponce de Leon, of Spain, discovered Florida, on Easter Sunday, and on account of the abundance of flowers gave the country its present name.
1524. John Verazzani sailed to the shores of North Carolina, and along the coast northward to the fiftieth degree of latitude.
1525. Stephen Gomez entered the bays of New York and New England, and laid the country down on Spanish maps under the title of the land of Gomez.
1534. James Chartier, under the authority of France, discovers the river of Canada.

1535. Canada was known by the name of New France. Chartier, in a second voyage, entered the bay of St. Lawrence on the day of that saint, which circumstance gave it and the river their present names.
1536. A cross erected in Canada wearing the arms of France.
1539. Ferdinand de Soto, with six hundred companions, landed in Florida, and explored the country as far as Flint river in search of gold, a thirst for which animated many of the first discoverers.
1540. Soto explored Georgia and Alabama, and destroyed Mobile, then an Indian town, and wintered there.
1541. Chartier erected a fort at Quebec, which was abandoned.
Soto pushed his enterprise into Mississippi and Arkansas.
1542. Soto descended to the mouth of Red river, and was invited to Natchez by the Natchez Indians.
May 21st.—Soto died, and his body was sunk in the Mississippi river.
Francis de la Roque entered the bay of Massachusetts.
1543. Soto's companions, headed by Moscoso, push their journey to Natchitoches; get discouraged; return to the mouth of Red river; build boats; descend the river Mississippi with great difficulty; and now reduced to three hundred and eleven, reach Hispaniola in poverty. Thus ended this project undertaken in search of gold.
1549. De la Roque and a numerous train of adventurers were supposed to have perished at sea; this seemed to check for some years the spirit of new discoverers.
Louis Chancello attempted to settle Florida, and was killed by the natives; and his comrades attempted to settle Carolina, which attempt failed also.
1564. The Huguenots of France again settled on the river St. John's.

FUNERAL OF THE HON. JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

History demands that the following be preserved and published. Will not the friends of the enterprising pioneers, who settled the Miami purchase, give us brief biographies of their lives? Can they do justice to posterity without it? and when so favorable an opportunity presents itself, can they be justified if they neglect it?

"The citizens of Cincinnati are invited to attend the funeral of the *Hon. John Cleves Symmes*, at the dwelling of Gen. Harrison in Front street; to morrow at 10 o'clock, A. M. from whence a procession will be formed to the landing of Mr. Joel Williams, where the body will be embarked for North Bend, selected by the Judge as the place of his interment. Such of his friends as can make it convenient to attend his remains to that place can be accommodated on board the boat which conveys them.

"*Cincinnati, February* 26, 1814."



VIEW OF THE OLD-HOUSE, IN DEERFIELD, WHICH ESCAPED THE CONFLAGRATION WHEN THAT TOWN WAS DESTROYED IN 1704, NOW OWNED BY COLONEL HOYT. [See page 126.]

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. APRIL, 1842. NO. IV.

REV. JOHN WILLIAMS.

[Communicated for the American Pioneer.]

Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Williams, first Minister in Deerfield, Massachusetts; with an Account of the sacking of that town by the French and Indians in 1703–4. *By* Stephen W. Williams, A. M., M. D., *late Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Lake Erie, &c.*

CHAPTER I.

Notice of John Williams the father—Birth and education of Rev. John Williams, and his settlement at Deerfield—The sacking of that town—Defence of the old house—The town burnt—Prisoners started to Canada—Last interview between Mr. Williams and his wife.

The lives of eminent men are identified with the history of the section of the country in which they have resided. This is peculiarly the case with the subject of this memoir. Having spent the greater part of his days in the town of Deerfield, on the banks of Connecticut river, at a period when the country was wild and waste, and exposed to all the horrors of savage warfare, and having sustained so great a share of the privations and sufferings of our fathers in planting and establishing the pleasant country in which we now reside, under the banners of peace, of comfort, and security, his biography must be interesting to his friends and the public.

Mr. John Williams was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, December 16, 1664. He was son of deacon Samuel Williams, of the same place, and grandson of Mr. Robert Williams, who, according to the best information I can obtain, came from Norwich, England, and settled at Roxbury in the year 1638, eighteen years from the time of the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, and eight years from the settlement of Trimontain, Shawmut, or Boston. It appears that at the time of the first settlement of Boston there was but one English inhabitant in Roxbury. Eight years after this, Mr. Williams arrived and settled there. We have no correct account of the cause of his leaving his native land, but it was, probably on account of the religious persecutions of the puritans, which at that time was carried on with fiery and unrelenting zeal; so much so, that our ancestors preferred risking their lives and property in a savage wilderness, far distant from their native home, to the more savage persecutions of fanatical bigots. The faithful page of history has informed us of the sufferings of our fathers in establishing themselves in this howling wilderness, and how much they had to contend with from the warfare of the savages, from famine, and disease. It is probable that Mr. Wil-

liams endured his portion of these trials and hardships. Soon after his arrival at Roxbury he married and had four children, and from him have descended all the families of Williams in this section of the country.

John, the subject of this notice, early devoted his attention to study. Through the munificence of his honored and pious grandfather, on the maternal side, deacon William Park, he was educated at Harvard College, and graduated there in the year 1683, at the age of nineteen years. He soon after commenced the study of divinity. I do not know the period of clerical pupilage in those days, but it appears that he became the first minister of Deerfield in the spring of 1686. The peril of such an undertaking in those days, when the country had been laid in ruins, but a short time before, by the bold incursions of King Philip of Mount Hope, one of the most enterprising chieftains, according to his means, of ancient or modern times, was great.

In March, 1686, Mr. Williams was ordained the first minister of the gospel in Deerfield, when he was but little more than twenty-one years of age. He must have been shielded by the whole armor of the Christian warfare to have risked his life in so hazardous an undertaking. The following is the agreement between him and his people, copied from the early records of the town:

"The inhabitants of Deerfield, to encourage Mr. John Williams to settle amongst them, to dispense the blessed word of truth unto them, have made propositions to him as followeth:—

"That they will give him sixteen cow commons of meadow land, with a home-lot that lyeth on the meeting house hill—that they will build him a house forty-two feet long, twenty feet wide, with a lento on the back side of the house, to fence his home-lot, and within two years after this agreement, to build him a barn, and break up his ploughing land. For yearly salary, to give him sixty pounds a year for the present, and four or five years after this agreement to add to his salary, and make it eighty pounds. The committee approved and ratified the above propositions on the condition Mr. Williams settle among them.

"Attest, Medad Pumry, by order of the committee."

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Deerfield, December 17, 1686, there was granted to Mr. John Williams a certain piece of land lying within the meadow fence, beginning at Joseph Sheldon's north line, and so runs to Deerfield river, north, or northeast, the owners of the common fence maintaining it as it now is at the time of the grant."

There was a further agreement between Mr. Williams and the town in relation to his salary, in 1696–7. "The town to pay their salary to me in wheat, pease, Indian-corn, and pork, at the prices stated, viz.—wheat at 3s. 3d. per bushel, Indian corn at 2s. per bushel. fatted pork at 2d. 1-2 per lb., these being the terms of the bargain made with me at the first.

(Signed) JOHN WILLIAMS."

About seven years after his settlement, on the sixth of June, 1693, Indian depredations again commenced at Deerfield, and the widow Hepzibah Wells, of his society, and three of her daughters were knocked down, and scalped, one of whom recovered from the terrific

maiming. Thomas Broughton and his wife and three children were also killed at the same time. A few months afterwards a man by the name of Martin Smith was taken prisoner, and carried to Canada, but he returned in a few years. From this time, for the space of nine years, the town and neighborhood of Deerfield were subject to frequent incursions. Several persons were killed and some taken prisoners. That occasioned the old fort of Deerfield to be repaired. About twenty acres were picketed in, and the old house stood near the northeast corner of the pickets. Many dwelling houses were also to some extent fortified.

Just before break of day, on the morning of the 29th of February, 1704, the town was attacked by surprise, by two hundred French, and one hundred and forty-two Indians from Canada, under the command of major Hertel de Rouville, aided by two brothers. At the time the attack was made, the snow was four feet deep on the ground. The crust was sufficiently hard to bear the weight of men. At this time there was not a single settlement on the west side of the river between Deerfield and St. Johns in Canada. The attack was entirely unlooked for, and not guarded against. The sentinel was unfaithful, and had retired to rest. But few troops were stationed here at the time. Some parts of the town were defended by high pickets, which extended round several acres, including many parts of the street. These were called the forts, but some of the dwelling houses were calculated for defense, and were built in the form of blockhouses, with the walls filled with bricks, and considered proof against musket balls. The snow was drifted against the pickets, and the enemy entered in a body without difficulty. In detached parties they broke open houses, and murdered the unsuspecting inhabitants in their sleep. Fortunate indeed were those who escaped. The tomahawk and war-whoop were the precursors of death. A large party of Indians, as described by Mr. Williams, broke open his house, which stood within the walls of the fort. He was in a profound sleep. The yells of the savages awakened him. He sprang from his bed, and running towards the door he perceived the enemy entering into his house. He called to awaken two soldiers who slept in the chamber above. Returning he snatched a pistol from his bed-tester, presented it towards the foremost Indian and snapped it. It fortunately missed fire, or he probably would have been murdered. He now expected to be immediately butchered, but his fortitude did not forsake him. The words of Isaiah xxx. 38; viii. 10, 11, occurred to him:—"I said in the cutting off of my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave: I am deprived of the residue of my years. I said I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living: I shall behold man no more, with the inhabitants of the world." The leader of the Indians who took him was a captain, who was killed shortly after by a shot from a neighboring house. His house was now rifled of every valuable article, and two infant children and a black domestic were inhumanly murdered. His wife, who was just recovering from the bed of confinement, and five children were taken prisoners. They then gave him liberty to put on his clothes, keeping one arm bound till he put them on the other, and then changed the cord till he had dressed

himself, and then pinioned him again. They also gave the same liberty to his wife and children. At this time a captain Stoddard, who slept in the house that night, jumped from the chamber windows, while the Indians were rifling the house and securing their prisoners, and escaped across Deerfield river, where tearing his cloak which he had taken with him in pieces, he bound the shreds round his feet and reached Hatfield greatly exhausted. Upon Mr. Williams' leaving the town, they burnt his house and barn. The old house, which is still standing, was attacked with fury. This was the largest, strongest, and best in the village. The door was filled with nails and firmly bolted, and it resisted their efforts. They then cut the hole in it which is still to be seen. Through this hole they pointed their guns, and killed the wife of captain John Sheldon, the owner of the house, who was dressing herself in her bed, in the corner of an adjoining room. This house is the pride of our village, as it recalls recollections pleasing though mournful to the soul. It annually attracts the attention of many strangers of distinction. Many bullet holes have been found in various parts of it, and in many of these holes the balls still remain and are to be seen. The Indians finally gained possession of the house, and kept it, together with the old meeting house, as a de pot for their prisoners, till they left the town. [See frontispiece.]

This attack was sudden and furious, and much bravery was displayed in the defence; but the means were inadequate. Seven men, and a few women, defended a house a few rods from the old one, against the combined force, during the whole time of the engagement, and killed several of the enemy. Great efforts were made by them to carry the house, but they were all resolutely defeated. The women, with the intrepidity of Amazons were busily engaged in casting bullets for the supply of the defendants. The house unfortunately took fire after the Indians left the town with the prisoners, and was consumed. All resistance, all human efforts were unavailing.

Major De Rouville collected the prisoners and plundered and burnt the principal part of the houses, and commenced his march with them to Canada, about an hour after sunrise. I shall not attempt to portray the horrors of that dreadful scene. Language is inadequate to convey the realities of that heart-rending transaction, although they have been described in letters of blood.

On the retreat with the prisoners, the enemy were attacked in the meadows by a party of men from Hatfield, and some others who had received information from some of our men who had escaped from the massacre at the onset, and a sharp contest ensued, which compelled them to retire with the loss of nine of their party. This engagement was near causing the death of all the captives. The bloody word was given by Rouville to tomahawk all the prisoners, but the messenger was killed before he conveyed his orders, and the French commander soon countermanded them.

The number of prisoners taken in this memorable and bloody action, was one hundred and twelve, including three Frenchmen who resided here. The number of killed was forty-seven, whose bodies were deposited at the south side of our old burying-yard. The enemy lost about the same number. In April, 1703–4, after this action,

the town of Deerfield contained about two hundred and eighty souls. It has been said that if the Indians had failed in their first attempt to carry the fort, they would have been compelled to have surrendered their whole army at discretion, for their stock of provisions was entirely exhausted, and to return would have been certain destruction, as there was no settlement until they reached Canada.

Gen. Hoyt observes:—Soon after the action in the meadows, Rouville commenced his march to Canada. Most gloomy was the prospect of the captives; many were women; these under circumstances requiring the most tender treatment; some, young children, whose tender frames could not sustain the fatigues of a day; others, infants, who were to be carried in the arms of their parents, left on the snow, or knocked on the head with the tomahawk; and several of the adult males were badly wounded. Under these melancholy forbodings, others no less appalling presented. The distance to Canada was not much less than three hundred miles through a country wild and waste; the ground deeply covered with snow, the weather cold and inclement, and what appeared impossible to surmount, provisions were to be procured on the route. At the commencement of the march the murder of an infant was a prelude to the barbarities that were to be expected from the blood-thirsty Indians.

The prisoners, with Mr. Williams, were taken over the river to the west mountain, where they were all assembled to the number of one hundred, nineteen of whom were afterwards murdered on the journey, and two starved to death in a time of scarcity of provisions among the savages, at a place called Coos, near Newbury, in Vermont. Their own shoes were now taken away, and Indian ones given them instead, they being considered easier to travel in.

After this they went up the mountain west of the river, where they could behold the smouldering ruins of Deerfield, and before they proceeded any farther they killed an infant of one of the captives.

The first day's travel was tedious and slow. The savages had so much compassion upon the children of the prisoners as well as upon their own wounded as to carry them upon their shoulders thirty miles to Connecticut river, probably above Brattleborough, in Vermont. They also carried the children, that were incapable of traveling, in their arms and upon their shoulders. On the first night they dug away the snow, and made wigwams, and formed their beds of the small branches of the spruce tree. They here fed the prisoners, who had but little appetite after the appalling scenes they had just passed through. Mr. Williams was pinioned and bound down that night, and every succeeding one that he remained in the army. Some of the Indians who brought ardent spirits with them from the town, became intoxicated, and in their fury they killed his negro man, which was the only dead person he saw, either in Deerfield or on the journey. On this night one of the prisoners escaped. Mr. Williams was sent for in the morning, and commanded by the general to tell the prisoners that if any more of them escaped they would burn the rest to death. In our next chapter it will be our painful duty to relate the inhuman murder of Mr. William's wife and his great sufferings through the wilderness, &c.

HISTORY OF A VOYAGE FROM MARIETTA TO NEW ORLEANS, IN 1805.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO TO FORT PICKERING.

The Mississippi, New Madrid, Jefferson—The great earthquake of 1811—Graphic account of it by an eye-witness—Rapid movement—Southern birds—Fort Pickering.

As the Nonpariel passed from the smooth waters of the Ohio into the turbulent current of the "father of rivers," the wind freshened, and spreading their broad sail to the breeze, the little vessel glided swiftly along over the boiling eddies of the Mississippi. The transit from the quiet Ohio to the hurried motion of the former river is always an interesting period in a voyage to New Orleans, and especially so to those who witness it for the first time. Such was now the situation of Charles Devoll and Graham, (the captain had navigated it two or three times before,) who viewed the contrast with wonder and admiration. Eight or ten hours' sail served to transport them to the cheerful looking little town of New Madrid, a distance of sixty miles. It stood on a high bank, in a broad bend of the river. Many of the houses were painted white, with wide verandas or piazzas; and coming as they did from a wilderness region, where no town had greeted their eyes since leaving the falls, the first view of this smiling village was animating and delightful. The inhabitants were a mixed people of French, Spanish and American. Under the Spanish government it had been a town of considerable importance, and the residence of a military commandant. It was the site of a small fort, and required all boats descending the river to stop and pay a duty on their load; but now being in the hands of the Americans, this custom, so annoying to the republicans of the valley of the Ohio, had ceased. When the duty was paid the boat or vessel received a clearance or license, by which they might sell their load at any of the ports or towns on the Mississippi. Of these exactions loud complaints were made by the western boatmen, and no doubt were greatly influential in hastening the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. At one time the people had serious thoughts of taking the country by force of arms and driving out these hard hearted exacters. A much wiser course was however taken by the cautious Jefferson; by which he not only secured the quiet possession of the country, but also the payment of several millions of dollars of debts due to his countrymen. The practice of collecting custom from the boats and vessels of strangers, who sail on the waters within the territory of another tribe or nation, is of ancient usage, and still in fashion amongst the petty sovereigns along the borders of the Rhine, and other large rivers of Europe. New Madrid was founded by colonel George Morgan, of Pennsylvania, with the permission of the Spanish government, soon after the war of independence. The site was considered to be a very judicious one for a town, and at the time of this voyage contained a population of three or four hundred inhabitants, amongst which were a number of genteel families, noted for their hospitality.

A few years after this, New Madrid was overwhelmed by the most

violent earthquake that ever was known in the United States, and the town in a manner depopulated. The reason why so few of the inhabitants were destroyed, was owing to the materials of their dwellings being of wood, instead of brick or stone. At Caraccas, where an earthquake took place near the same time, thousands of the people were crushed beneath the ruins of their stone houses; although it is not probable the concussions were more violent than they were on the Mississippi. A brief description of that event may not be uninteresting to readers of the present day. The centre of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid; the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up as Pittsburgh. The first shock was felt in the night of the 16th of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, into February following. New Madrid, having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulations proceeded.

From an eye-witness, who was then about forty miles below that town, in a flat boat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth and the waters of the mighty Mississippi filled every living creature with horror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe, and for safety several boats kept in company, for mutual defense in case of an attack. In the middle of the night there was a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews were all awakened and hurried on deck with their weapons of defense in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board. The ducks, geese, swans, and various other aquatic birds, whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror. The noise and commotion soon became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling in of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up making ready to depart. Directly a loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the islands gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, cracking and crashing, tossing their arms to and fro, as if sensible of their danger, while they disappeared beneath the flood. The water of the river, which the day before was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown up from its bottom; while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered

with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures, and closing again, threw the water, sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the tops of the trees. The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke. From the temporary check to the current, by the heaving up of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet; and, impatient of the restraint, again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats, now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore, where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortices of the sinking masses. Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner, and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertions of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars and islands, as they could. Numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bottom of the Mississippi, where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars and islands. At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town, and left on the ground by the returning water a considerable distance from the Mississippi. A man who belonged to one of the company boats was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself, while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against him, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper into the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep muddy waters, which, to his terrified imagination, seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here, calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down stream close to the snag, from which he tumbled into the boat as she floated by. The scenes which occurred for several days, during the repeated shocks, were horrible. The most destructive took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphurated gases that were discharged during the shocks tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river, to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days. New Madrid, which stood on a bluff bank, fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several fine lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land, and have since been planted with corn!

Returning from this digression, we will resume the narrative of the

voyage of the Nonpariel. After lying by a few hours, selling some articles of the load, and taking a view of the town, they put off into the current, making a much more rapid progress than while on the Ohio. The whole way from this place to the lower Chickasaw bluffs, or Fort Pickering, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, was a wilderness, occupied by the tribe of Indians whose name is given to the bluffs. These bluffs are ridges of high land, which rising in the interior of the country on the left bank, terminate abruptly on the river. At some remote period, there was probably a time when these ridges were continued across the space now occupied by the alluvions of the Mississippi. They are seated in the easterly bends of the river, with widely extended bottoms on the westerly shore, and are four in number. The state of Tennessee includes them within her boundaries.

As they sailed gaily along, the attention of Charles and Graham was constantly arrested by the noisy chattering of the paroquets. Their gay plumage and lively motions, as they hopped from branch to branch amongst the deep green foliage of the trees, several of which were in flower, afforded a constant theme for remark; while the more staid habits and quiet movements of the pelicans, swans and sand hill cranes added another charm to the picturesque scenery. The latter bird, so named from their attachment to sandbars and heads of islands, where they wade in the water and search for worms, snails and small shells, their favorite food, existed in thousands, and covered the heads of the islands with their numbers. At these they could not refrain from firing an occasional shot; although they appeared to be but little disturbed by the report of the rifle, merely raising their heads for a moment and returning again to dabbling in the sand. The swan is a majestic, beautiful bird, and celebrated from the earliest antiquity for its graceful form and movements on the water. The pelican is more plebeian in his manners and shape. Furnished with a long broad bill, the upper mandible of which terminates in a hook, he is enabled to carry on his occupation of fishing with success. Beneath the lower mandible, and extending to the breast, there is a membraneous sack, or bag, that will hold from a quart to half a gallon, in which he deposits the proceeds of his labor, after satisfying his own appetite, for the use of his family.

Occupied with such a variety of objects the time passed rapidly away, and the vessel reached Fort Pickering in forty-eight hours.

Fort Pickering was built by colonel Strong a few years before. It stood on elevated and commanding ground, and was quite an important station. The garrison consisted of one hundred men. The captain was acquainted with several of the officers, and they spent a few hours very sociably at the garrison. They did not sell many articles of their load, as they thought a better price might be obtained below. The spot where Fort Pickering was erected is now occupied by the town of Girard; while Memphis stands three miles above on the elevation of the lower Chickasaw bluff, and is quite a brisk town that has sprung up within a few years. In 1805 very few whites had ventured to settle along the shores of the Mississippi from New Madrid to the "Walnut hills," a distance of nearly five hundred miles,

but the whole region was in the possession of the Indians. A considerable portion of this space, bordering the left bank of the river, remains to this day unsettled, being covered with water at every flood to the depth of ten or fifteen feet, and flowing back from twenty to thirty miles from the river.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM FORT PICKERING TO BATON ROUGE.

Spanish moss—Alligator anecdote—Walnut hills—Natchez—Anecdote of Philip Dodridge Mr. Graham, old Thom and Bill leave the Nonpariel—Baton Rouge.

Shortly after leaving Fort Pickering a striking change was noticed in the vegetable productions of the country. The dark brown foliage of the cypress, with its thickly clustering branches, had been seen for the last few days along the swampy borders of the river, but now the "Spanish moss," (*tillandsia usneoides,*) appeared hanging in festoons from its trunk and limbs. This parasitic plant is peculiar to the lower Mississippi and the country bordering the gulf of Mexico; imparting a funereal and melancholy expression to the forests, reminding one of mourning weeds and sepulchral drapery, as the wind sighs and moans through its thread-like texture. It however has its uses; affording food to the wild deer and cattle, when they can find no better, and a valuable article for stuffing beds and matresses. The palmetto, (*chemcrops latanier,*) with its evergreen foliage, also reminds the voyager from the upper waters that he is approaching the warmer regions of the South.

In addition to these new tenants of the land, the ill favored and unsightly form of the alligator is seen; lying on a stationary pile of drift wood, or stretched on a sandbar, enjoying his "siesta" in the warm rays of the sun. Barker, who had navigated this river before, was familiar with their appearance, but to Charles and Graham the sight was novel and exciting. They soon made up their minds to pick a quarrel with them the first good opportunity, and requested the captain, who was always at the helm and keeping a look out, to give them notice of the next one he saw asleep. It was not long before one was seen lying on a drift just above the mouth of the Arkansas river. They immediately sprang into the little skiff that was towing along at the stern of the schooner, armed with their pistols, intending to give him a shot or two before he awakened. With great caution they dropped the skiff slowly along to within a few feet of the sleeping monster, and Graham was just raising his pistol for a shot, when, with a sudden flirt, he rolled into the water so near them as nearly to upset their little boat. Their first thought was that he would attack them in the river, being his favorite residence, when Charles, putting all his strength to the oars, pulled directly for the schooner, pleased to escape from the contest with no further harm than a good fright.

In three days after leaving Fort Pickering they reached the "Walnut hills," where was a small village of log huts inhabited chiefly by hunters. It is now the site of Vicksburgh, a large flourishing town and a port from which is shipped a great portion of the cotton grown in the state of Mississippi. Since leaving the mouth of the Ohio they

had passed but few flat boats, it being rather late in the season ; and besides only a small number descended at this early day, the produce of the country on that river being mostly wanted for the support of the new settlers which were daily pouring in like a flood. Tennessee and Kentucky having been longer settled, had commenced sending considerable quantities of tobacco and flour to New Orleans, even while it was under the Spanish regime. Robert Williamson, a native of Tennessee, informed me that he had sent flour down the Cumberland river as early as the year 1787, which sold at New Orleans for twenty-two dollars a barrel; and again in 1793, when it brought only twelve dollars. There was then a duty on it of two dollars per barrel. A considerable number of barges had began to ascend the Mississippi, with groceries, and every few days they were greeted with the sight of one of these boats toiling upward with oar and line against the powerful current of the "father of rivers." On these occasions the lively songs and rude jokes of the boatmen served to enliven the way, and afford a theme for remark for several hours after. The amount of merchandise sent up the river in barges in 1805 could not have been great, as in 1810 it amounted only to three hundred tons. In 1813, the business had increased to three thousand tons, and more and larger boats were employed ; while the price of freight had fallen to ninety dollars a ton to the falls of the Ohio. In the year 1812, the first steam-boat run on the river between New Orleans and Natchez, performing the upward voyage in *seven* days, and the downward in *two* days. The price of a cabin passage up was twenty-five dollars, and down it was eighteen dollars. In the year 1815, the first steam-boat voyage was accomplished between New Orleans and Pittsburgh, by captain Shreve, in the Enterprise. The trip upward was performed in fifty-four days, twenty of which it was said were spent in stoppages at intermediate ports. Such improvements have since taken place as to shorten the period to about one fourth of that time.

From the "Walnut hills" to Natchez, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, nothing worthy of notice occurred. The country was more settled than above, and the openings and log cabins of the cotton planters were occasionally seen. The cultivation of this plant, now so important an article in the exports of the country, was begun by the Spaniards as early as the year 1772, in the vicinity of Natchez; but was greatly lessened in value from the difficulty of clearing it from the seeds, which tedious operation was performed by hand until the invention of the "cotton gin" by the ingenious Whitney. Natchez was at this time a town of considerable size, and next in importance to New Orleans. The Nonpariel had been twenty-one days in performing the voyage from Cincinnati. While lying here they sold a few articles of their load. Cheese readily brought thirty-seven and a half cents a pound; grindstones, being a new and rare article in this market, sold quickly to the mechanics at fifty cents an inch, measuring the diameter of the stone. Natchez had been in the occupancy of the United States since the year 1798, when it was given up by the Spaniards, who had held it since 1781. The first governor of the Mississippi territory was Winthrop Sargent, who had

lived in Marietta during the Indian war. He was succeeded in 1802 by William C. C. Claiborne, who in 1804 was appointed governor of the newly acquired territory of Louisiana.

While speaking of Natchez, it will be interesting to notice a curious incident in the life of Philip Dodridge, Esq., which took place in this town about the year 1796. Mr. Dodridge, as is well known to the early inhabitants of western Pennsylvania and Virginia, was for many years one of the most noted men in that region for his splendid talents at the bar; and has probably never been excelled, if he has been equalled, for his discrimination in fathoming the depths of an intricate case, or his powerful and logical reasoning in unfolding it. His father was amongst the earliest settlers of northwestern Virginia, in the vicinity of what was then called Charleston, but now Wellsburgh. His constitution being not very robust, at the age of sixteen or eighteen years he was taken from the plough, put to school, and commenced the study of Latin. His vigorous mind drank in knowledge with the rapidity of thought, or as a dry sponge absorbs water. It soon became a habit with him to exercise his memory in changing the common conversation around him into the idiom of his studies; and following his father in his evening and morning devotions, he soon learned to render his prayers into very good Latin, and to converse with his teacher quite fluently. This close application to his books, although it invigorated his mental powers, yet enfeebled his body, and it became necessary for a while to suspend his studies. At this period, the region in which he lived had become so much improved as to afford considerable surplus produce beyond the wants of the inhabitants, the only market for which was to be found on the Mississippi river or at New Orleans. Some of his cousins, young men of his own age, having loaded a boat with flour, invited him to go with them, and recruit his enfeebled frame by a voyage to the South. Nothing very interesting occurred until they reached Natchez, at that time in the possession of the Spaniards. They were very strict in their police, forbidding any strangers or boatmen to go up into the town, seated on a high bluff, without a written permission from the commandant or governor of the place. Young Dodridge feeling the ill effects of confinement to the narrow limits of the boat, and that he needed exercise, determined to take a walk and visit the town on the hill. He had ascended about half way, when he was met by a well dressed man, who accosted him in the Spanish language. Dodridge did not fully understand him, but thought it similar to the Latin, and answered him in that tongue. It so happened that the individual who addressed him was no less a personage than the governor of Natchez, and was well versed in the Latin, having been liberally educated in Spain. They soon fell into a very familiar and animated discourse, without Philip's once suspecting the station of his new acquaintance. Learning that he had visited the Mississippi country on account of his delicate health, and that he was now walking for exercise after long confinement to the boat, and withal astonished and delighted to have discovered so learned a man in an up-country boatman, he invited him to his house. The sprightly wit and uncommon intellect of the young stranger soon won his

whole heart, and interested the Spanish commandant deeply in his welfare. His admiration was not the less excited from having pointed out to him on a large map of the western country, which hung against the wall, the spot near the head of the Ohio river, where he was born, and from whence he departed on the present voyage. While thus agreeably engaged, a black servant drove up to the door with a neat Spanish carriage and pair of horses, accompanied with an invitation from the governor to step in and ride as far as he pleased. With many thanks, not the less acceptable to his benefactor from their being clothed in the Latin tongue, Philip accepted the offered kindness, and extended his ride to some distance around the suburbs of Natchez. When about to depart, he was invited to call every day as long as he remained, and the carriage and servant should be ready for his service. This pleasing intercourse was continued for about a week; and when he finally took his leave, the governor gave him letters of introduction to several of the first men in New Orleans, accompanied with many flattering expressions of his admiration for his uncommon acquirements and the pleasure his acquaintance had afforded him; thus demonstrating the homage that is ever paid by the wise and good to learning and worth, even when accompanied with poverty and amongst strangers. His companions looked with wonder and astonishment at the gracious reception and attention paid to their cousin by the governor, while they were barely allowed to step on shore, and not suffered to leave the vicinity of the landing. Philip laughingly told them it was all owing to his good looks, which they could hardly believe, as in this particular they were decidedly superior to their cousin. On reaching New Orleans, his letters procured him ready admission to the tables and the society of the most prominent men in the city; and the few weeks he staid there were passed in a round of amusements, freely bestowed by the hospitable Spaniards. At his departure they loaded him with their good wishes and assurances that they should never forget his name, or the pleasure they had received from the brilliant sallies of his humor and wit. Philip Dodridge was not less celebrated on the west side of the Alleghany mountains for his eloquence and splendid talents, than Patrick Henry was by the men of his day in the eastern portions of Virginia.

Mr. Graham left the Nonpariel at Natchez, with many ardent good wishes for the welfare and safe return of her crew to their home in Ohio. Their two hands, "old Thom" and "old Bill," also left them, and in their place the captain took on board Mr. P. H. Hubbard, a house joiner, on his way from Pennsylvania to Mobile, with three hired hands, where he intended to carry on the business of house building. It was the last of May when the schooner unmoored from Natchez and took her departure for Baton Rouge, one hundred and seventy miles below. It is pleasantly situated on a commanding bank, forty or fifty feet above the highest floods. There was a garrison of fifty men in the fort, with four pieces of artillery. From its elevation their guns had complete command of the river, and all boats passing this fortress were obliged to land and pay a duty to the commandant. On flat boats the duty was three dollars. From the Non-

pariel a demand was made of ten dollars, but was finally commuted to six; partly, however, on account of the Spanish commandant's anxiety for the schooner to go to Pensacola, where they were greatly in want of flour, and would pay from fifteen to twenty dollars a barrel. The vessel was also constructed for running on the lakes, being of light draft, and they were assured of a good price for her also. The commandant, whose name was Grandfra, treated them very kindly, giving them a pass to free the schooner from any farther exactions, and letters of recommendation to the commandant at Pensacola and several of the merchants. Baton Rouge, being within the limits of West Florida, did not come into the possession of the United States until the year 1810, five years after this time. It is now a military station, and quite an important town. The interval between this place and New Orleans embraces what is called "the coast," and in fertility of soil, value of productions, and beautiful villas, is not surpassed by any other on the face of the earth. It is the great sugar region of Louisiana. The sugar cane was first introduced by the Spaniards, about the year 1772, and has been gradually progressing northerly, as new and more hardy varieties were introduced, sixty or eighty miles above Baton Rouge, and will finally become acclimated in the vicinity of Natchez. Fourteen miles below Baton Rouge, on the left shore, was the inlet to bayou Marshae. Through this pass, by the way of the lakes, lies the route by water to Pensacola. At that day it was passed but seldom by boats, and always with great difficulty, being constantly more or less obstructed with rafts, or drift wood from the Mississippi, especially at high stages of water. The bayou, at all times narrow, was thickly lined with cypress trees, which the impetuous current occasionally undermining, sometimes fell entirely across the pass, not only obstructing the channel, but filling it for some rods above with drift wood lodged against them. They were, however, assured by those who pretended to know, that there was but one obstruction, about a mile from the entrance, and when this was passed they would find no other all the way through, a distance of eighteen miles, to Galveston, on the river Amite, into which the bayou discharges its waters. The bayou Marshae has been impassable for many years, and now, in 1841, its bed is filled from thirteen to fifteen feet in depth above low water mark, and its entrance closed with a levee or dike.

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CHAPTER VII.

FROM BATON ROUGE TO NEW ORLEANS.

Baton Rouge, sugar, bayou Marshae—Great difficulties in getting through that bayou to Galveston—Indian mode of catching alligators—Lake Ponchartrain—Nearly shipwrecked in a gale—Saved by a new kind of anchor, and arrive at St. John's—Sell their damaged vessel and load—view of New Orleans.

The third day of June, the Nonpariel entered the pass of Maushae or Iberville, and her ill fated crew commenced their Herculean labors of opening a passage through the multiplied obstructions which had closed the way. Drift after drift appeared, and day after day was

consumed in constant labor with axes and saws. No less than ten or twelve of these obstructions, some of which were many rods in extent, were encountered and overcome. Had it not so happened that they took on board Mr. Hubbard at Natchez, with his tenant and crosscut saws, it is very doubtful whether they ever would have extricated the vessel from this difficult pass. The current was so strong that they could not retrace their way and return against it, the summer rise having commenced, so that their only hope, as it is in many other events of life, was in progressing onward. With the aid of as many hired men as they could get, with their axes, in addition to their own exertions, they were twenty days in squeezing their way between the drift wood to the port of Galveston.

This bayou being but little frequented by man, the alligators lived here in peace and quietness, and for size and numbers would astonish the boatmen of the present day. They were often killed by the Indians and hardy hunters of that time for their skins, teeth and oil. The commandant at Galveston, Shepherd Brown, Esq., a Baltimorean by birth, who had been a commission merchant in New Orleans, and so far gained the confidence of the Spaniards as to be appointed to this post, told the captain of the schooner that he was acquainted with two Indians who hunted them in the same manner they do in some of the rivers of Africa. One of them went into the water, holding upright in his hand a stick of very hard wood, sharpened at each end, to the centre of which was attached a stout rope. As the alligator approached with open mouth to devour him, he thrust his hand with the stick between the jaws, which closing were transfixed upon it. Returning to the land, the astonished animal was dragged to the shore, and killed by repeated blows on the head with an axe.

When they reached Galveston, on the 23d of June, they could have received a fair price for their load, but concluded to go to Pensacola, where, they were assured by the captain of a schooner from that place, now lying at Galveston, they could readily get two thousand dollars for the Nonpariel. They, however, sold all their meal at three dollars a barrel, and the remainder of the cheese at fifty cents a pound, with a few barrels of flour at fourteen dollars; thinking, however, to get fifteen or twenty dollars at Pensacola, they avoided selling only a few barrels. Before the vessel could be taken to that post, through the inland seas of the coast, it was necessary to go to the bayou St. John, on lake Pontchartrain, to procure and set up more rigging, she needing several additional sails to make the voyage with safety. The captain of the Spanish schooner kindly lent them an anchor, to be returned at Pensacola, without which it would be hazardous to cross the lake. At Galveston they took on board as pilot a man who professed to be well acquainted with its navigation; and putting out, sailed pleasantly down the river Amite to the little lake Maurepas, from which the outlet led them into Pontchartrain, distant forty miles from Galveston. This lake is about forty miles long by twenty-four broad, and is a beautiful sheet of water, with a fine sandy bottom. Its only fault for navigation is a deficiency of water near the mouths of its harbors, affording only from six to eight feet, so that in heavy gales the ground almost appears in the

trough of the waves. In the centre of the lake the water is much deeper.

By two o'clock of the second day they had crossed the lake to within two miles of the bayou St. John, and with a fair wind for the intended port could have easily entered it had the pilot not been ignorant of the mouth. At this juncture, seeing a schooner lying at anchor to leeward, he told the captain she was near the mouth of the bayou and steered directly for her. When within speaking distance, her captain hailed the Nonpariel and asked where bound? They answered, "For bayou St. John." To their dismay he told them they were now to leeward of the port and would be aground directly. Having only a single square-sail, they could not beat up again to windward, but were forced to cast anchor and wait the shifting of the wind. To their vexation and sorrow it continued to blow from the northeast for four days, and for the last twenty-four hours of that period rose to a complete gale. Their anchor being a light one, would, under the heavy surges, occasionally drag a little, and let the schooner into water so shoal that her keel repeatedly struck against the bottom in the troughs of the waves. The heavier seas made complete breaches across her low decks, compelling the captain to keep the hatches closed down. To lessen the strain on the cable, and to check her rolling, the masts were cut away. In this dilemma all the crew but the captain were assailed with sea-sickness so violently as to confine them to their berths, and deprive them of all power to aid in the management of the vessel or even to assist themselves. The schooner now sprung a leak, and pumping was added to the other labors of the commander. While engaged at this toilsome task, he was obliged to lash himself to the pump to prevent being washed overboard during the most violent period of the storm. During a slight lull in the gale, with the help of the pilot, he got up from the hold and threw overboard all the puncheon shooks and about fifty barrels of flour, to lighten her and prevent the thumping of the keel on the bottom, which threatened to make a wreck of her.

While watching with intense anxiety and the most alarming apprehensions the gradual dragging of the anchor, at each repetition of the gusts of wind, which blew in squalls attended with heavy showers of rain, and would in a few hours more force the Nonpariel on to the shoals, against which the waves beat with an alarming surf, Barker bethought himself of a large grindstone lying in the hold, for which he could find no purchaser at Natchez. Providentially this stone was the means of saving all their lives, and rescuing the vessel from destruction. It was one of the largest size, not less than four and a half feet in diameter, and weighing nearly eight hundred pounds. Having rigged a proper tackle with some of the loose spars, they opened the hatch, and with all the dispatch in their power hoisted it on to the deck. While at this work, several seas were shipped, which poured a large quantity of water into the hold, threatening the ruin of the remainder of the cargo. This, however, they did not much regard, as it could soon be pumped out again. When fairly on deck, Barker, who had been bred a carpenter, fitted into the eye or hole in the centre of the grindstone a stout timber, four feet in

length, securing it firmly with wedges. A spare cable which they had on board was then fitted to this newly invented anchor, and it was swung over the bow and dropped into the water. The strain on the cable soon buried the timber in the sandy bottom, and the Nonpariel rode out the remainder of the storm without any further dragging. During the whole of this period the captain, who was the only efficient man on board, was constantly wet, and kept the deck nearly all the time, except occasionally going below to inquire after the welfare of the sea-sick crew. His only food was hard biscuit soaked in the water of the lake, and eaten as he busied himself on the deck; while his companions in trouble were unable to eat any thing. From his being constantly soaked in the saline water of the lake, his feet and hands swelled and became so sore that the use of them was quite painful. For this climate the rain was unusually cold, and aided by the constant current of wind to which he was exposed, chilled him to the heart. The fourth day at night the wind shifted to a favorable quarter. All this time they had been unable to cook any victuals, as the waves had unshipped the caboose which stood on the deck; and their only drink was the water of the lake, now become quite brackish from the long continuance of the easterly wind. After administering to the crew a drink of strong toddy, the captain was enabled to muster force enough to raise the anchors, and fitting up a jury-mast from one of the long oars, make sail for the bayou and fort of St. John, whose walls could be seen at some distance, and seemed as a beacon to mariners on the lake; which they reached the last of June, and gladly moored the Nonpariel at the little town which stood near its head. Here they found wharves and store houses, with accommodations for the vessels which traded to New Orleans by way of the lakes. This little port was two miles from the city, and the produce and goods were hauled across in carts or drays. In the year 1813, a canal was dug from the city to the bayou St. John, with a commodious basin, so that the vessels from the lake can discharge their cargoes without the cost of drayage, and now there is a rail-road leading to the same point.

Heartily sick of the lake navigation, and wearied with the length of the voyage, the supercargoes gave up all further thought of fully rigging the schooner and taking her to Pensacola; but concluded to dispose of the remainder of the damaged cargo in the best way they could, and selling the unlucky vessel at the wharf where she was lying. It was now the first of July, when the heat of summer is most oppressive, and to strangers from the northern region the climate most dangerous. At this period however the yellow fever, since so fatal to persons not acclimated, was of rare occurrence, and the attacks more like the bilious remittents of the western states at the present day; so that our voyagers felt none of that dread and trepidation which falls upon us moderns when obliged from necessity or duty to spend a few weeks of the summer in New Orleans. The remaining portion of the cargo, amounting to about one hundred barrels, was hauled across from the bayou to the city and put into a warehouse. Being in a damaged condition, it would not sell to the merchants for shipping, but was retailed to the bakers at various

prices from eight to twelve dollars per barrel, while undamaged flour sold for fifteen dollars. Charles, being young and of a lively wild temperament, entered freely into all the amusements of the place. The fourth of July was celebrated with great glee by what few Americans there were in the city, especially by the Kentuckians, with whom Charles directly became immediately associated, and was received amongst them as one who "hailed from Kentuck." He soon became a great favorite with them, they always taking his part and flying to his rescue if involved in any trouble with the wild fellows of the city. The captain and Mr. Greene taking upon themselves the charge of making sales, Charles for six weeks had little else to do but look about and enjoy himself. By the middle of August they were nearly ready to depart, having been detained until this time from the difficulty of finding a purchaser for the Nonpariel, which having been left in the care of an agent at the bayou St. John, had been suffered to get aground; and the water falling damaged her so much that they realized only five hundred dollars from her sale, instead of the two thousand which they had every reason to expect before the disastrous gale. With this money a draft was purchased on a merchant in Marietta, as much better and easier of conveyance than specie, with which all payments were made in New Orleans.

This city, in 1805, contained a population of about twelve thousand souls, nearly the whole of which was made up of Frenchmen and Spaniards. The streets were narrow, and the houses all built in the style peculiar to these people, as may be seen now by visiting the old portion of the city. It was founded by the French about the year 1720. In 1769 it fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who kept possession till December, 1803, when it came into the care of the United States. Louisiana was divided by the French into two provinces, the upper and the lower. The lower was made into a state in 1812; the upper composes all that territory now owned by the United States west of the Mississippi, including Missouri and Iowa. New Orleans is probably destined to become one of the largest cities in America. When the low lands around it are drained and put under cultivation, the levees or dikes raised so high as entirely to prevent the overflowing of the river, it will become as free from pestilential diseases as any other city on low ground in a similar latitude.

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CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY HOMEWARD.

Travel to Natchez, Mr. Greene and Charles sick—Concluded to leave Mr. Greene near Natchez—Start through the wilderness, rainy season, manner of traveling in the wilderness—Freedom of the woodman's life, Colbert's ferry—Duck river, they stop to rest, Indian fishing—They reach Nashville—Charles gave out in the Barrens—Green river, kindness received there—Lexington, Maysville, Scioto saltworks, they reach home, Charles restored to health—Voyage summed up—Richard Greene's distressing journey home, his sickness and death.—Conclusion.

It was near the last of August before all the preparations for the homeward journey were completed. The distance of about twelve hundred miles was to be traveled by land and on horseback. No steam-boat ascended the Mississippi and Ohio rivers till ten years after

this time. Boatmen from the head waters generally took passage by sea to Baltimore or Alexandria, and thence over the mountains; while from Kentucky and that part of Ohio below the Muskingum river they returned by land, some on foot and some on horseback, through the wilderness; a considerable portion of which, from Natchez to Nashville, was occupied by the Indians. The journey was made in companies of fifteen or twenty men, carrying their provisions, tents, &c. along with them. The horses selected for this service were generally a small breed of mixed Spanish and Indian, called "Opelousas horses," very hardy and accustomed to subsist on grass and the bark of trees. To every three or four persons there was one or more spare horses to carry the baggage. With heavy hearts they bid adieu to the Nonpariel, and shipping on board a packet at the little town of St. John, crossed once more the lake Pontchartrain to the mouth of the Taugipahoa or "Tuckepaw," and up that stream to "Bookter's landing," a noted starting point for Kentucky boatmen on their way home. As horses were cheaper at Natchez than at New Orleans, they only bought two, concluding to ride by turns, and purchase more after they reached there. For some days before leaving the city, Mr. Greene and Charles had complained of indisposition, and by the time they arrived at Bookter's landing they were both too sick to walk. Barker, being in good health, cheerfully gave up all claim on the horses and traveled on foot the whole distance to Natchez, one hundred and twenty miles. The country was thinly settled with cotton planters, who had recently emigrated from Carolina and Georgia. The soil is of a sandy quality and the forest growth chiefly pine. It is a healthy region, and much frequented of late years by the inhabitants of New Orleans during the sickly months of summer.

When they reached Natchez, Mr. Greene, who had been suffering from a liver disease for several years, and had made the voyage with the hope of improving his health, was too sick to travel, and was left at a plantation five miles from the town. Charles' disease increased slowly from bad to worse, having a chill by day and a hot fever at night, attended with a diarrhœa and great debility. Under such circumstances few men would have attempted this long and dangerous journey through a wilderness. But being anxious to get home, and encouraged by a company of fifteen Kentuckians who promised him every aid in their power to bestow, he concluded to make the trial. These men were all planters or farmers who had been down to New Orleans with boats loaded with produce, in company for mutual defense and aid in case of difficulty. They were now on their return, traveling together through the wilderness, that they might assist each other if attacked by robbers or by sickness. One or two years before this period robberies had been very frequent, by Mason and his gang. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi territory, offered a large reward for his head. He was killed by one of his own men and the band dispersed. The Kentuckians had with them several fine mares from the Opelousas region, where the Spaniards raised large numbers of the Andalusian horses, originally from old Spain. This breed, crossed with the fine English hunter, produced a variety of horses

combining both beauty and strength, and in high repute with the planters of Kentucky. These men, amongst whom was major Decker, afterwards killed at the battle of Tippecanoe, colonel Blainton and captain Crosby, were all armed with rifles or pistols, and several of them had been repeatedly engaged in the border wars of Kentucky along with Boon and Kenton. In company with these hardy fellows, who not only offered their aid to assist them on the way, but also the use of one of their horses to carry their tent and baggage, Charles felt a buoyancy and flow of spirits at the prospect of again seeing home, that had been strangers to his heart ever since leaving New Orleans.

The Kentuckians leading the van, and Charles and Barker following in their train, they commenced the journey in high glee. The road at that time across the prairies or rolling country over which their course lay for five or six hundred miles was a narrow path on which they traveled in a single file. This trail traversed a region covered with grass four or five feet high, destitute of thick forests, but garnished with clumps of trees, sometimes in groups and sometimes single. It so happened that the month of September was excessively wet, and scarcely a day passed without a heavy shower in the afternoon, with a repetition of the same phenomenon at night. In consequence of which they were wet to the skin every day, and seldom a night passed without their being driven from their blankets on the ground by the water which found its way in little rills beneath the tent. Along the borders of the creeks and runs the path was very muddy, but the general surface being of a loamy and sandy quality, absorbed the larger portion of the rain and made the traveling pretty good. Their average progress was a hundred miles in three days. They arose by daylight, and while a part prepared their breakfast, the others collected the horses, which although hoppled, generally strayed to a considerable distance during the night in search of the more succulent and tender grass. When all were ready they mounted their horses, and did not stop again until near night, and sometimes after dark; the older guides, who had often been through before, pointing out the best ground for camping, always near to some water course or noted spring. Here they prepared their camp fires, set up the tents and cooked their suppers; which operation was always preceded by a hearty libation of the best brandy toddy or old whisky, mixed and drank from their tin cups. The horses were fed with corn if they had any, being scarce through the Indian country, hoppled and turned loose; when after a full discussion of the events of the day and the prospect of what might be expected to-morrow, every man spread his blanket on the ground, and with his baggage or saddle for a pillow commended himself to sleep.

This manner of traveling to persons in good health, with pleasant weather, is exciting and full of novelty, and on the whole very delightful. Relieved from all care but that of himself and his horse, the traveler in the western wilds finds a freedom in his thoughts and movements unknown to cultivated districts. The fatigues of the day create a fine appetite for his simple supper, and give a high relish to his sleep; which being enjoyed in the open air and on the hard ground, has with it a degree of refreshment and restoration of the

wasted powers unfelt by the sleepers in close houses and downy beds To be fully appreciated it must be actually experienced. To sensations of this kind must be attributed that strong attachment to a forest life exhibited by Daniel Boon and so many others of the early pioneers of the West. Fifteen days passed away in this mode of traveling, when the party reached "Colbert's ferry," a noted crossing place on the Tennessee river, five miles below the Muscle shoals. This man was a "half-breed," and owned a large plantation with a number of slaves. Of him they purchased corn at three dollars per bushel, that being the price all the way through the Indian nation. The river is here about a mile wide, and the ferriage charged for a man and horse was one dollar.

In three days more they reached Duck river, a large tributary of the Tennessee. The bottoms on this stream have been highly celebrated for their fertility. Charles, who had been losing strength daily, and had only been enabled to keep up by taxing his resolution to the utmost, now thought he could go no farther, but must stop and rest. He was the more induced to this result from there being a kind of physician here who thought he could cure him of the fever that constantly preyed on his life. His Kentucky friends left him with great reluctance, offering many hearty and kind wishes for his better health and safe return to his home. While resting at this place, Barker amused himself with hunting and with watching the Chickasaw Indians as they pursued in their canoes the large fish which swarmed in the river, taking great numbers of them with spears made of the long canes which grow in the river bottoms. These were sixteen or eighteen feet in length, sharpened with a knife into a lancet shape at one end, and thrown with great dexterity twenty or thirty feet; seldom failing to pierce a fish through the body at every throw. This was doubtless an invention of great antiquity, and practiced by their fathers ages before the use of iron was known amongst them.

At the end of a week another party of Kentuckians came up on their way home. Some of these men had seen Charles in New Orleans, and directly recognizing him, insisted that he should get up and go along with them to Nashville, where he could find able physicians; telling him that if he remained here, the ignorant doctor with whom he now was would be certain to kill him. By this time he was reduced to a mere skeleton, with hollow eyes and copper colored skin. Encouraged by the assurances of these warm hearted men, hope, which had nearly forsaken him, again visited his bosom; and being helped on to his horse, he with great pain and distress was enabled to reach Nashville, a distance of one hundred miles. Here he rested another week, and so far recruited by the first of October as to be in a condition to make one more effort to complete the journey of four hundred miles still before him.

As they traveled slowly along through the beautiful valleys of Kentucky, his disease increased again so much that one day, in the "Barrens," he laid down by the side of the road in despair, telling his brother Barker he could go no farther, and was determined to make no more efforts, as he was certain he should die in that place. Gloomy and sad as was his condition, all alone in the wilds with his sick

brother, who was so weak and exhausted that apparently he might die at any hour, yet the patience of Barker never forsook him. Blest with a vigorous frame and the most perfect health, although he had been exposed to many more hardships than Charles, hope and confidence always predominated in the most trying emergencies. His temperament was of that cool and calculating quality just fitted to contend with sudden and unexpected dangers and to overcome them. Nothing dismayed therefore by the despair of his brother, he sat patiently down on the ground beside him. After conversing with him a few minutes, he brought some water in their tin cup from an adjacent run, and getting him to drink a little, bathed his face and bosom. This revived his strength, and with it his courage, so that by a little persuasion he allowed his brother to assist him on to the horse again.

In a little time they reached Green river, where a kind hearted, hospitable Kentuckian, as they passed by his house, took notice of the wan and feeble looks of Charles, and insisted on their stopping with him till he was more able to travel. He treated him with the utmost kindness, tendering every thing in the house that would in any way promote his comfort or restore his health. Under this hospitable roof they remained nearly a week, at the end of which period he had so far recruited his strength as to be able to ride with much more ease than at any time before.

With many thanks, they bid adieu to their kind host, who refused all compensation for his trouble, and they reached Lexington without further incident. Here they stayed three days with an old acquaintance who had formerly lived in Marietta. From there their road led them through Maysville, where they once more saw the waters of the beautiful Ohio. Ten miles above the latter town they crossed the river and were again in their own state. The route to Marietta led through by the Scioto saltworks, where they also found several friends and spent a day or two. From here they rode to Athens in one day, distant about forty miles; the near approach to home adding fuel to the flame of life, which had been burning so feebly within the invalid. The pure air of the frosty mornings, which now began to appear, cooled and braced his relaxed muscles; while the brown deer as they bounded across the path, and the wild turkeys gobbling on the hillsides, served to attract his attention and enliven the way, which led through a region that was but just beginning to be occupied with here and there a solitary settler. Their journey was now nearly ended; and passing along the ridges of Federal creek, and the broad slopes of Wolf creek, they emerged from the forest on to the Muskingum river, opposite their father's house, which stream they forded the last day of October. So emaciated and changed in looks and complexion was Charles, that his own mother did not know him. When assured it was her son, more by seeing Barker with him in full health and flesh than from any other evidence, she burst into tears, clasping him to her breast in an agony of tears. Poor Charles was very thankful for being permitted once more to see his mother, whom he had thought he should never again behold, and whose former tone of kindness he had learned to appreciate while lying sick and distressed on the ground in the wilderness, with no mother's gentle hand

to bathe his fevered brow or hold the cooling cup to his lips. During the whole of the following winter he remained weak and feeble, requiring the constant advice of one of the most skilful physicians the country afforded to restore him to his wonted health, which however returned in the spring, and with it his usual flow of fine spirits. As to the proceeds of the voyage, nothing was left remaining of the Nonpariel cargo but the two Opelousas horses and the draft for five hundred dollars. What with their losses on the lake in the storm, all the rest had been swallowed up in paying their expenses through the bayou Marshae, at New Orleans, and in their tedious journey home. This, however, was but an epitome of many of the voyages on the western rivers before the era of steam-boats and underwriters.

Richard Greene, the other partner in the voyage, who was left sick at Natchez, was in a still more distressing condition. He not only had a wife and four children to care for, but he had invested the avails of a small farm, his only estate, in his share of the schooner and cargo. He had undertaken the trip with the hope of benefiting his health, which had been poor, laboring under a liver disease for some years. In about four weeks after the departure of Charles and Barker, the fever had so far left him that he concluded to commence his journey homeward. While yet so weak as to be barely able to sit on his horse, he set out in company with only one man, who was also an invalid. When he got fairly into the Indian country he was attacked with a relapse of chill and fever. Providentially a physician stopped at the Indian house over night, and administered such medicines as put a stop to the disease and enabled him to resume his journey. The rains of September were continued into October: he was often wet to the skin, and was obliged to travel on very muddy roads. His horse became tired and exhausted, and for many days he had to walk for miles together to relieve the poor beast. His money was nearly all spent, having barely enough to pay traveling expenses after discharging the bills for his sickness near Natchez, and none to give in exchange for a fresh animal. His dress, calculated only for summer weather, was too thin to protect him from the cold and wet of October; and when he reached home the last of that month, his strength was all gone, and the disease transferred from the liver to the lungs. It was, however, a great blessing to him once more to see his wife and children. He lingered along, growing daily weaker and weaker, till early in December, about six weeks after his return, when death put an end to his anxiety and his sufferings.

Thus terminated the voyage of the beautiful but unfortunate Nonpariel. In this voyage may be seen a picture of many circumstances of life. Man in his youthful prime sets out amid the joys and flowers of spring, careering along gaily, cheered by the lively songs of birds. Anon the flowers fade, fruits ripen, and the scene assumes a more grave aspect. While in the onward path of duty, scarce any thing mars the placid cheerfulness of his voyage, now pursued to the midsummer of life. But alas! he sometimes lends his ear to the whisperings of a tempter, turns aside, and suffers in bayous and storms, and terminates his voyage even more disastrously than that of the Nonpariel.

SILK CULTURE IN AMERICA.

Our readers are here presented with a concise account of the manufacture of silk, found in the Newark (Ohio) Gazette. They will doubtless be pleased with a view of this subject, as connected with our prosperity. We lately visited Mr. Harrison's silk reeling establishment in Cincinnati. He is manufacturing choice sewing silk, and intends enlarging his establishment, not only to manufacture in larger quantities, but in greater variety. He informed us that he has, adjoining and around his cocoonery, forty thousand trees, which he intends immediately on the opening of the season to increase to eighty thousand. We understand that there is nothing like the mystery, art and risk in this most lucrative business, as the interested and selfish are wont to wrap around it. Can that not be removed? It is not the province of the American Pioneer to do that farther than what is historical may contribute to it. We hope however, for the good of the country, if the subject is shrouded in unnecessary mystery, that those who know it will exert themselves to disperse it. In our last, when speaking of the legislative aid given to staging at its commencement, we hinted that the culture of silk might soon flourish so as to produce like competition. We see no good reason why silk culture cannot become lucrative. What is there in our soil, climate, enterprise, habits, or the fair hands of our damsels, to prevent it?

SILK CULTURE IN AMERICA.

We have lately met with a few facts relating to this subject, which we lay before our readers, hoping that even such a very incomplete view may not be without its value.

In 1663, silk culture was started in Virginia; it was a penal offence, if mulberry trees were not planted at the rate of ten for every hundred acres. In 1760, the London society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, gave premiums for silk raised in Georgia, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. In 1747, Mr. Law, the governor of Connecticut, wore the first coat and stockings made of New England silk.

Some extracts taken from the very rare and interesting "Silk Journal," of president Stiles, of New Haven, show that silk was raised in Newport, Rhode Island, as early as 1758. In 1771, Mrs. Stiles, wife of the president, had a gown which was manufactured in London, from silk raised by herself; and in 1788, at the commencement at Yale College, the president wore a gown woven from American silk. In 1790, twenty-nine families in Northfork, Connecticut, raised and spun twelve hundred runs of silk; and, in the same year, fifty families in New Haven were engaged in silk raising.

It is said that the weaving of silk in this country, was first tried in the year 1833, at Marshfield, Connecticut. But the first regularly organized silk factory in America, according to Mr. Gill, is that located at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. In the dressing room of this factory there are eleven distinct machines, while the weaving room contains six

looms for the production of the following fabrics:—lustring, plush for hats, brocaded silk singe for vesting, blanch, Genoa velvet, black cravat handkerchiefs, and rich tissue flowered silk. There are twenty hands employed in the factory, and the average value of silk manufactured per day is $30. During the two past years, Mr. Gill has made thirty-five pieces of velvet, worth from four to six dollars per yard; ten pieces of plush, from which were made twenty-four dozen silk hats, worth $48 per dozen; one hundred pieces dress silks, flowered vestings, &c., varying in length from ten to thirty yards, worth from $1 to $3 per yard; also, sixty dozen cravats and handkerchiefs, worth from $1 to $1 75 each. Connected with the factory are thirty acres covered with the mulberry tree, and three cocooneries, the latter having cost the proprietor $1,200. The factory itself is a three story building, which cost $1,100. During the past year, several thousand pounds of cocoons have been raised in Cincinnati: Mr. T. Yarwood having raised himself four hundred pounds; from which he has reeled some truly beautiful silk, and looms for spinning are soon to be established.

There is a good deal of silk raised in the town of Somerset, Kentucky, and in Madison, Indiana. Mr. Ira Wells, of the last mentioned place, raised seven hundred dollars worth during the past year. Nashville, Tennessee, deserves to be mentioned in this connection; Dr. Thomas White, of that city, having invented a machine which performs the five distinct processes of reeling, winding, throsting, tramming and skeining the silk, in but little more time than is required for reeling it alone.

In Williamson, Tennessee, there were lately manufactured some excellent silk handkerchiefs. Considerable silk is raised in Michigan: Mr. Kinney, of Detroit, reeled over two hundred skeins last season.

In Pennsylvania, Beaver county probably takes the lead in silk raising. Miss Rapp, of economy, in that county, received last year as much as $1,473, as a premium for cocoons raised. The next highest premium was awarded to Mr. Sellers, of Delaware county, and amounted to $173 55. In Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, there were raised, during the past season, about three thousand pounds of cocoons, and the whole number of persons who received premiums in Pennsylvania, in 1841, was two hundred and twenty-three, living in twenty-eight different counties; and the whole amount of premiums awarded was $4,418 55.

In Monroe county, New York, there was a bounty paid on 1,538 pounds of cocoons, and 29 pounds of reeled silk during the past year, and there is considerable raised in the neighboring counties. The sewing silk made by Hart, of Le Roy, New York, is considered superior to the imported. The establishment of Messrs. Whitmarsh, of Northampton, Massachusetts, is a very large and flourishing concern, of which we regret we have not the details. Another point famed for the silk business is Elizabethtown, New Jersey. We lately gave a notice of state prison silk, at Auburn, New York.

In 1839, the entire silk product of the Union was 328,981 pounds of cocoons. Pennsylvania coming first, Connecticut second, and Ohio third, in the list of silk growing states.

NAVIGATION BY STEAM.

At the close of our last article on this subject, we advertised our readers that the history of that art, when well developed, would be a bright star in the constellation of American glory. This in the progress of these pieces we shall endeavor to show, in order to fix the mind more attentively upon, and inspire a love for, American character and American institutions, under which a young people, such as we were and such as we are, could be able to cope with and even surpass the oldest and most wealthy nations on earth. These are proper subjects to contemplate in juxtaposition with the first settlement of the country. Without a close comparison both would seem to lose at least half their lustre.

It is not here, nor will it be elsewhere contended, that our institutions are faultless, or that we are guiltless; but we do, and shall strongly contend, that we have the best institutions, and that our character amongst nations is neither mean nor reproachful. Foreign scribblers have so bespattered us by their criticisms upon our manners and customs, that we often seem to be almost persuaded that the nation is far in the background of civilization. The truth is, that these foreign catchpenny book makers come among us with at least a pretended stock of refinement, and a real stock of egotism; and mistake the great variety of American character, all united by common ties, for a blemish, and our want of social distinctions for a fault. They forget that as a people we overlook the fulsome etiquette of courts, and have our minds more intently fixed upon clearing our lands, planting our corn, digging our lands, laying our rail-roads, building our cities, and improving our arts, manufactures and agriculture. Among these, is that of navigation by steam; and hence it is that their best men acknowledge us before them, and brighten the escutcheon of our nation's character.

Among foreign writers, there are characters that would do honor to any nation, with minds too large to be employed in caressing ladies' lapdogs, or captivated by mere external show of any kind. David Stevenson, Esq. is one of them, celebrated for both depth of research and practical experience. He visited this country in 1837, and saw for himself. In his "Civil Engineering of North America," of navigation by steam he thus speaks:

"Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the actual invention of steam-boats, there is no doubt that steam navigation was first fully and successfully introduced into real use in the United States of America, and that Fulton, a native of North America, launched a steam-vessel at New York, in the year 1807; while the first successful experiment in Europe was made on the Clyde, in the year 1812, before which period steam had been, during four years, generally used as a propelling power in the vessels navigating the Hudson.

"The steam navigation of the United States is one of the most interesting subjects connected with the history of North America, and it is strange that hitherto we should have received so little informa-

tion regarding it, especially as there is no class of works, in that comparatively new and still rising country, which bear stronger marks of long continued exertion, successfully directed to the perfection of its object, than are presented by many of the steam-boats which now navigate its rivers, bays and lakes.

"It would be improper to compare the present state of steam navigation in America with that of this country, for the nature of things has established a very important distinction between them. By far the greater number of the American steam-boats ply on the smooth surfaces of rivers, sheltered bays, or arms of the sea, exposed neither to waves nor to wind; whereas most of the steam-boats in this country go out to sea, where they encounter as bad weather and as heavy waves as ordinary sailing vessels. The consequence is, that in America a much more slender built, and a more delicate mould, give the requisite strength to their vessels, and thus a much greater speed, which essentially depends upon these two qualities, is generally obtained. In America the position of the machinery and of the cabins, which are raised above the deck of the vessels, admits of powerful engines, with an enormous length of stroke, being employed to propel them; but this arrangement would be wholly inapplicable to the vessels navigating our coasts, at least to the extent to which it has been carried in America.

"But perhaps the strongest proof that American vessels are very differently circumstanced from those of Europe, and therefore admit of a construction more favorable for the attainment of great speed, is the fact that they are not generally, as in Europe, navigated by persons possessed of a knowledge of seamanship. In this country steam navigation produces hardy seamen, and British steamers, being exposed to the open sea in all weathers, are furnished with masts and sails, and must be worked by persons who, in the event of any accident happening the machinery, are capable of sailing the vessel, and who must therefore be experienced seamen. The case is very different in America, where, with the exception of the vessels navigating the lakes, and one or two of those which ply on the eastern coast, there is not a steamer in the country which has either masts or sails, or is commanded by a professional seaman. These facts forcibly show the different state of steam navigation in America, a state very favorable for the attainment of great speed and a high degree of perfection in the locomotive art.

"The early introduction of steam navigation into the country, and the rapid increase which has since taken place in the number of steam-boats, have afforded an extensive field for the prosecution of valuable inquiries on this interesting subject; and the builders of steam-boats, by availing themselves of the opportunities held out to them, have been enabled to make constant accessions to their practical knowledge, which have gradually produced important improvements in the construction and action of their vessels. But on minutely examining the most approved American steamers, I found it impossible to trace any *general* principles which seem to have served as guides for their construction. Every American steam-boat builder holds opinions of his own, which are generally founded, not on theo-

retical principles, but on deductions drawn from a close examination of the practical effects of the different arrangements and proportions adopted in the construction of different steam-boats, and these opinions never fail to influence, to a greater or less degree, the built of his vessel, and the proportions which her several parts are made to bear to each other.

"So lately as twelve years ago, about thirty hours were occupied by the steam-boats navigating the Hudson in making their passages from New York to Albany, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, which is at the rate of only five miles per hour. Passengers were then conveyed in barges towed by steam-boats, to avoid the danger which, according to the following extract from an advertisement of the sailing of the vessels, seems at that time to have attended the steam navigation of the country: 'Passengers on board the safety barges will not be in the least exposed to any accident which may happen by reason of the fire or steam on board of the steam-boats. The noise of the machinery, the trembling of the boat, the heat from the furnace, boilers and kitchen, and every thing which may be considered as unpleasant or dangerous on board of a steam-boat, are entirely avoided.' These 'safety barges' however have been entirely laid aside, and the voyage between Albany and New York is now generally performed in ten hours, exclusive of the time lost in making stoppages, being at the astonishing rate of fifteen miles per hour. They have effected this great increase of speed by constantly making experiments on the form and proportions of their engines and vessels, in short, by a persevering system of *trial and error*, which is still going forward; and the natural consequence is, that, even at this day, no two steam-boats are alike, and few of them have attained the age of six months without undergoing some material alterations.

"These observations apply more particularly to the eastern waters of the United States, where the great number of steam-boat builders, and the rapid increase of trade, have produced a competition which has led to the construction of a class of vessels unequaled in point of speed by those of any other quarter of the globe. The original construction of most of these vessels has, as already stated, been materially changed. The breadth of beam and the length of keel have in some vessels been increased, and in others they have been diminished. This mode of procedure may seem rather paradoxical; but in America it is no uncommon thing to alter steam-boats by cutting them through the middle, and either increasing or diminishing their dimensions as the occasion may require. It is only a short time since many of the steam-boats were furnished with false bows, by which the length of the deck and the rake of the cutwaters were greatly increased. On some vessels these bows still remain; from others they have been removed, subsequent experiments having led to the conclusion, that a perpendicular bow, without any rake, is best adapted for a fast sailing boat. When I visited the United States in 1837, the 'Swallow' held the reputation of being one of the two swiftest steamers which have ever navigated the American waters, and this vessel had received an addition of twenty-four feet to her original length, besides having been otherwise considerably changed. Before these

alterations were made on her, she was considered, as regards speed, to be an inferior vessel.

"Local circumstances, connected with the nature of the trade in which the steam-boats are engaged, have given rise to the employment of three distinct classes of vessels in American steam navigation. The general characteristics by which the eastern water boats are distinguished, are, a small draught of water, great speed and the use of condensing engines of large dimensions, having a great length of stroke. On the western waters, on the other hand, the vessels have a greater draught of water and less speed, and are propelled by high-pressure engines of small size, working by steam of great elasticity. The steamers on the lakes, again, have a very strong built and a large draught of water, possessing in a greater degree the character of sea-boats than any of those belonging to the other two classes. They also differ in having masts and sails, with which the others are not provided.

"The inferences to be drawn from these facts are, that the great experiment for the improvement of steam navigation, in which the Americans may be said to have been engaged for the last thirty years, is not completed, and the speed at which they have succeeded in propelling their steam-vessels may yet be increased; and also that, in the construction of their vessels, they have been governed by experience and practice alone without attempting to introduce theoretical principles, in the application of which to the purpose of propelling vessels, by the action of paddle-wheels on the water, numerous difficulties have hitherto been experienced."

ROBERT FULTON.

Although we are more than willing to do justice to all the pioneers in the art of navigation by steam, many of which aided in bringing it to a successful experiment; yet the claims of Robert Fulton must not be overlooked, nor so long delayed as to hazard the suspicion of neglect. It has been said, and doubtless in truth too, that he had the advantage of all that was done before him. That the experiments of others were so much done towards perfecting what we are apt to ascribe all the credit of to him. We do not ascribe *all* the *credit* of invention to him. Perhaps on the score of simple invention he has little due to him; not half so much as some others. But that he at least made such improvements as were susceptible of success, without which the most laborious and expensive experiments are mere abortions, no one without great hazard of character will deny. A very essential trait in the character of a pioneer was in a pre-eminent degree possessed by him, and also by Stevens; and that is, untiring and unconquerable perseverance. Without this, great and useful inventions avail little: and it might be made a question, whether Fulton was most benefited by what had been done before his time by way of theoretic invention, or injured by unsuccessful attempts inducing doubts and discouragements in his own mind, and also increasing public preju dice against the improvement. The question is not, whether any thing is due to those who preceded him in experiments or not. They deserve all

honor and respect as the real benefactors, something, perhaps uncontrolable, prevented them from perfecting it. But the question is, whether Fulton was most benefited by their inventions or injured by their failures. We, at another time, shall examine more minutely their respective claims. Meanwhile we present such a view of the unsuccessful attempts with which he was more immediately connected, as well to do justice to other worthies as we pass along, as to show the steps by which that system was brought to a successful adoption. This we cannot do better than to quote more from, and follow pretty closely, the researches of the excellent writer we first quoted on this subject.

"Next in order of time to Fitch and Rumsey, we find Miller, of Dalswinton, in Scotland. This ingenious gentleman had, as early as 1787, turned his attention to substitutes for the common oar and had planned a triple vessel propelled by wheels. Finding that wheels could not be made to revolve with sufficient rapidity by men working upon a crank, the idea of applying a steam engine was suggested by one of his friends, and an engineer of the name of Symington employed by him to put the idea into practice. The vessel was double, being an experimental pleasure boat on the lake in his grounds at Dalswinton. The trial was so satisfactory, that Miller was induced to build a vessel sixty feet in length. This was also double, and it is asserted that it was moved by its engines along the Forth and Clyde canal at the rate of seven miles per hour. The boat, the wheels, and the engine, were, however, so badly proportioned to each other, that the paddles were continually breaking, and the vessel suffered so much by the strain of the machinery as to be in danger of sinking, and Miller found it unsafe to venture into any navigation of greater depth than the canal. The apparatus was therefore removed and laid up, and here the experiments of Miller ceased. He himself appears evidently to have considered this experiment an absolute failure, and ascribed the blame to the engineer. We have to remark that the double boat used by Miller, was a form ill suited to the purpose; in the ferry boats of that structure, introduced by Fulton into this country, the resistance growing out of the dead water included between the two hulls, has been found such, that they have been gradually abandoned, and single vessels substituted.

"John Stevens, of Hoboken, commenced his experiments on steam navigation in 1791. Possessed of a patrimonial fortune, and well versed in science, he was at the time wanting in the practical mechanical skill that was necessary to success; he was hence compelled, at first, to employ men of far less talent than himself, but who had been educated as practical machinists. His first engineer turned out an incorrigible sot; his second became consumptive, and died before the experiment was completed. Stevens then resolved to depend upon his own resources, and built a workshop on his own estate, where he employed workmen under his own superintendence. In this shop he brought up his son, Robert L. Stevens, as a practical engineer, to whom many important improvements in steam navigation, and the most perfect boats that have hitherto been constructed, are due.

"During these experiments, Stevens invented the first tubular boiler; and his first attempts were made with a rotary engine, for which, however, he speedily substituted one of Watt's. With various forms of vessels, and different modifications of propelling apparatus, he impelled boats at the rate of five or six miles per hour. They were, in truth, more perfect than any of his predecessor's, but did not satisfy his own high-raised hopes and sanguine expectations. These experiments were conducted at intervals up to the year 1807, and much diminished his fortune. We must, however, pass from the detail of them, and the notice of the parties who became concerned with him, in order to speak of what was doing in Europe in the meantime.

"The earl of Stanhope, in 1793, revived the project of Genevois, for an apparatus similar to the feet of a duck. It was placed, in 1795, in a boat furnished with a powerful engine. He was, however, unable to obtain a velocity greater than three miles per hour. While engaged in these experiments, on the 13th September, 1793, he received a letter from Fulton, who proposed the use of paddle-wheels; and it is probable that his neglect to listen to this suggestion caused a delay in the introduction of the steam-boat of at least twelve years; for we cannot doubt that the ingenuity of Fulton, backed by the capital and influence of lord Stanhope, would have been as successful then as it was on a subsequent occasion.

"In the year 1797, chancellor Livingston, of the state of New York, built a steam-boat on the Hudson river. He was associated in this enterprise with a person of the name of Nisbett, a native of England. Brunel, since distinguished for the block machinery, and as engineer of the London tunnel, acted as their engineer. In the full confidence of success, Livingston applied to the legislature of the state of New York for an exclusive privilege, which was granted, on condition that he should, within a year, produce a vessel impelled by steam at the rate of three miles per hour. This they were unable to effect, and the project was dropped for the moment.

"In the year 1800, Livingston and Stevens united their efforts and were aided by Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt. Their apparatus was a system of paddles, resembling a horizontal chain pump, and set in motion by an engine of Watt's construction. We now know that such a plan, if inferior to the paddle-wheel, might answer the purpose; it, however, failed in consequence of the weakness of the vessel, which, changing its figure, dislocated the parts of the engine. One of the workmen in their employ suggested the use of the paddle-wheel in preference; but, Stevens candidly states, their minds were not prepared to expect success from so simple a method.

"Their joint proceedings were interrupted by the appointment of chancellor Livingston to represent the American government in France, but neither he nor Stevens were yet discouraged; the latter continued to pursue his experiments at Hoboken, while the former carried to Europe high-raised expectations of success.

"It has been stated that Symington was employed by Miller of Dalswinton as his engineer; we have now to record an attempt made by him under the patronage of lord Dundas of Kerse. Miller's views appear to have been directed to the navigation of estuaries and rivers,

if not to that of the sea itself. Symington, on the present occasion, limited himself to the drawing of boats upon a canal. The experiment was made upon the Forth and Clyde canal, but the boats were drawn at the rate of no more than three and a half miles per hour, which did not answer the expectations of his patron, and the attempt was abandoned. During this attempt, Symington asserts that he was visited by Fulton, who stated to him the great value such an invention would have in America, and by his account, took full and ample notes. In the attempt he thus makes to claim for himself the merit of Fulton's subsequent success, he is defeated by the clear and conclusive evidence that Fulton exhibited in a court of law of his having submitted a plan analogous to that afterwards carried into effect, to lord Stanhope, in 1795, six years prior to the experiment of Symington. That Fulton, whose thoughts had continued to dwell upon steam navigation, and who saw with prophetic eye, the vast space for this development afforded by the Mississippi and its branches, should have visited all the places where steam-boats were to be seen, was natural; but a comparison of the draught of Symington's boat, which is still extant, with the boats constructed by Fulton, furnishes conclusive evidence that the latter borrowed no valuable ideas from the former."

"We here remark an anachronism in the work of Stuart. Symington's own narrative, as given by that author, seems to place the interview with Fulton in 1801. Stuart, in a subsequent place, refers it to the date of this visit of Fulton's to England. We have previously stated it as happening at the former date upon Symington's authority, as this is alone consistent with the expression of astonishment that he records. For this could hardly have been uttered subsequent to the trial made upon the Seine. Each of the dates, however, causes a dilemma. If he saw Symington's boat in 1801, he returned to France with his previous impression in favor of paddle-wheels very much weakened; if not until 1804, he had already performed more than Symington. In like manner the claim of Henry Bell, so pertinaciously maintained by British authors, falls to the ground. Bell claims the merit of having furnished Fulton with the plan of his successful steam-boat on the ground of his having furnished plans and drawings, which he heard, *two years* afterwards from Fulton, were likely to answer this end. On receiving this letter, he states that 'he was led to consider the folly of sending his opinions on these matters to other countries, and not putting them into practice in his own.' Now, as Bell did not build his first boat until 1812, we cannot place the date of Fulton's second letter earlier than his return to America in 1806, and that it was written from America, Bell's expressions render evident. Fulton, therefore, could have derived no benefit from his advice, for his experiment in France was in 1803, and the engine of Watt and Bolton, which was first used on the Hudson, must have been ordered at least a year before the alleged date of Bell's communications. Neither can we reconcile his claims with the statement made by his friends, that he was several years in bringing his plans to perfection; and his boat was, after all, very inferior to those constructed by Fulton several years earlier. The anxiety of the British public to transfer the honors of Fulton to Bell, is mani-

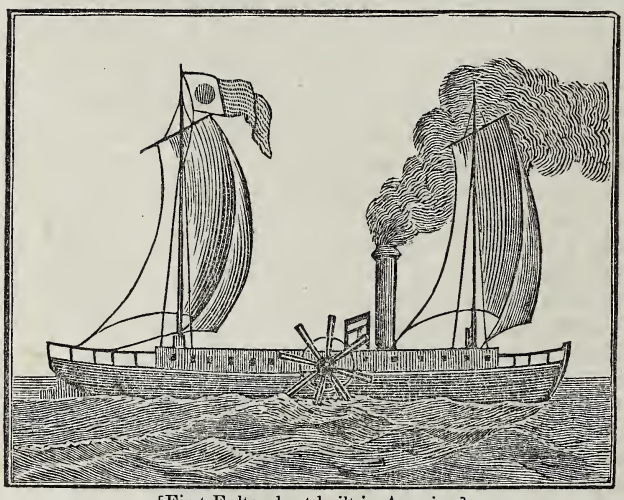
test from a report of a committee of parliament, where it is stated that Bell came to this country to construct boats for Fulton, while it is now admitted that he was never on this side of the Atlantic. We apprehend, however, that the correspondence with Bell took place on a different occasion. When Fulton planned his ferry-boats for the East river (New York,) he proposed to make them double; he therefore naturally desired to know something of Miller's vessel, which he had never seen, and, by Bell's own statement, the request of Fulton was limited to that single object. Bell asserts that he furnished, in addition, views and plans of his own; but long before this time Fulton's boats were in successful operation, and many competitors had already appeared, not only in those places where an exclusive grant existed, but even within the waters of the state of New York.

"The engine ordered from Watt and Bolton, reached New York towards the close of the year 1806, and the vessel built to receive it was set in motion in the summer of 1807. The engine from England was put on board of her, and in August, she was completed, and was moved by her machinery from her birthplace to the Jersey shore. Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton had invited many of their friends to witness the first trial, among whom were those learned men, Dr. Mitchell and Dr. M'Neven, to whom we are indebted for some account of what passed on this occasion. Nothing could exceed the surprise and admiration of all who witnessed the experiment. The minds of the most incredulous were changed in a few minutes. Before the boat had made the progress of a quarter of a mile, the greatest unbeliever must have been converted. The man who, while he looked on the expensive machine, thanked his stars that he had more wisdom than to waste his money on such idle schemes, changed the expression of his features as the boat moved from the wharf and gained her speed, and his complacent expression gradually stiffened into one of wonder. The jeers of the ignorant who had neither sense nor feeling enough to suppress their contemptuous ridicule and rude jokes, were silenced for a moment by a vulgar astonishment, which deprived them of the power of utterance, till the triumph of genius extorted from the incredulous multitude which crowded the shores, acclamations of congratulation and applause.

"The boat had not been long under way, when Fulton ordered her engine to be stopped. Though her performance so far exceeded the expectations of every other person, and no one but himself thought she could be improved, he immediately perceived that there was an error in the construction of her water-wheels. He had their diameters lessened, so that the buckets took less hold of the water, and when they were again put in motion, it was manifest that the alteration had increased the speed of the boat. It may well be said, that the man of genius and knowledge has a sense beyond those which are common to others, or that he sees with different eyes. How many would have gazed upon these ill-proportioned wheels, without perceiving that they were imperfect.

"This boat, which was called the Clermont, soon after made a trip to Albany. Mr. Fulton gives the following account of this voyage in a letter to his friend, Mr. Barlow. 'My steam-boat voyage to Alba-

ny and back, has turned out rather more favorable than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles: I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, both going and coming, and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and parted with them as if they had been at anchor. The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York, there were not, perhaps, thirty persons in the city, who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility; and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors. Having employed much time, money, and zeal, in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it fully answer my expectations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to the merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen; and although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantage that my country will derive from the invention,' &c.



[First Fulton boat built in America.]

"Soon after this successful voyage, the Hudson boat was advertised and established as a regular passage boat between New York and Albany. She, however, in the course of the season, met with several accidents from the hostility of those engaged in the ordinary navigation of the river, and from defects in her machinery; the greatest of which was, having her water-wheel shafts of cast iron, which was insufficient to sustain the great power applied to them. The wheels also were hung without any support for the outward end of the shaft, which is now supplied by what are called the wheel-guards."

SKETCH OF WESTERN SETTLEMENTS.

Introductory—Trip to Pittsburgh, and thence down the river to Manchester—Tavern at Manchester—Trip to Cincinnati—Through Kentucky, and back to Brush creek on horseback—From Brush creek home—Removes to Brush creek—Indian customs—Brush creek navigation in 1806—Trip to New Orleans—Remains there till June—Sells out and comes home, making a good trip.

Mr. Williams,—At your request, I send you a brief outline of my first settlement in this country. It can be of little interest except in relation to the state of improvement at the time I first traveled through this state.

My birthplace was called the Trap, in Pennsylvania. On the 11th of last November I was seventy-one years of age. I came to the Glades, in Pennsylvania, to a town then called Brumer, now Somerset, in the year 1791. Married Ann Jones in 1794, and determined to come to the West. I left Somerset in 1797, to visit the western country, and came to Pittsburgh, which was then a smart village. I then entered a Kentuck boat and descended the river. Steubenville was then just commenced. At Wheeling there were a few houses—a smart little town for the backwoods. We floated day and night, and thus I had but little chance of observation. At Marietta there were considerable improvements; and this is the only improvement I recollect between Wheeling and the mouth of the Scioto. We most likely passed settlements in the night. Below the mouth of the Scioto, at the town of Alexandria, there was a small beginning. The next settlement I saw was Massie's settlement, called Manchester.

Here I left the boat, intending to visit the country on horseback. There were fifteen to twenty cabins at Manchester, one of which was called a tavern. It was at least a grog shop. There were about a dozen visiters at the tavern, and as the landlord was a heyday, well-met tippler with the rest, they appointed me to assist the landlady in making eggnog. I was inexperienced in the art, but I made out to suit them very well. I put about a dozen eggs in a large bowl, and after beating or rather stirring the eggs up a little, I added about a pound of sugar and a little milk to this mass; then I filled the bowl up with whisky, and set it on the table; and they sat round the table and supped it *with spoons!* Tumblers or glasses of any sort had not then come in fashion. They all began to cut up, and especially a professor of religion. I thought he ought to haves et a better example. When I found how the game was going, I resigned my commission and went to bed.

Next morning another person and myself, who came with me from Pennsylvania, bought horses and started to the Miami country by land. There was but one cabin on the trace from Manchester to the

Little Miami: that was built by a Mr. Van Metre, about seven miles from where Newmarket, in Highland county, now is. On the Little Miami a man by the name of Wood had built a mill, and there were several cabins in that vicinity.

Cincinnati was then a smart place. Fort Washington was still standing. We staid there but one night; crossed into Kentucky, went to the Big Bone lick, and round through the country, which was very thinly settled. We came back by Cincinnati, and from there went to the mouth of Soldier's run, on Brush creek, seven miles from its mouth. There I purchased a farm with a cabin on it; and finding an immigrant without a place to put his family in, I put him in my cabin, and we started back to Pennsylvania on horseback, as there was no getting up the river at that day.

In our homeward trip we had very rough fare when we had any at all; but having calculated on hardships, we were not disappointed. There was one house (Treiber's) on Lick branch, five miles from where West Union now is. The next house was where Sinking spring or Middletown is now. The next was at Chillicothe, which was just then commenced. We encamped one night on Massie's run, say two or three miles from the falls of Paint creek, where the trace crossed that stream. From Chillicothe to Lancaster the trace then went through the Pickaway plains. There was a cabin some three or four miles below the plains, and another at their eastern edge, and one or two more between that and Lancaster. Here we staid the third night. From Lancaster we went next day to Zanesville, passing several small beginnings. I recollect no improvement between Zanesville and Wheeling, except a small one at the mouth of Indian Wheeling creek, opposite to Wheeling. In this space we camped another night. From Wheeling home we went pretty well.

The next spring I removed my family to Brush creek. The Indians had not left the country, but they were very peaceable. They were not thievish that I know of, but were great beggars, especially for victuals. They were very open hearted and friendly, and seemed to live very peaceably among each other. I never heard of any quarrel or row among them, or between them and their neighbors. They are great riders, using skins in place of saddles: male and female ride alike. Whether riding or walking, the squaws carry their infants at their backs, tied on boards. These infants or pappooses are so remarkably quiet that I do not recollect ever to have heard one cry. Nothing looks much more cunning than a little Indian lashed on a board and sitting against a stump or tree.

I will now give you a little account of my first trip to New Orleans

It was in 1806. In the early part of the year the winter was remarkably dry and open, and although there was plenty of water in the Ohio, there were five miles from my boats to the Ohio. Brush creek was two low to float loaded boats over the bars. I was loaded with flour and bacon. I became very impatient to get out, and I told my neighbors I was going out next day. They laughed at me, but I was determined to do it. I sent a little of my loading by land to the water of the Ohio, and then bored stout holes in the fore part of each gunwale outside and sloping backward. In these holes I put stout pins or treenails. Throwing the ring of a log-chain over each pin, I hitched two horses to each, and I thus dragged both boats over all the ripples to the backwater of the Ohio in less than a day. This put a stop to the merriment of my neighbors. When the foremost boat would strike a bar we would drag it over, and as soon as the horses would get into deep water below the bar we would turn each pair outward, when the chains would slip off the pins and let the boat go on, while the horses would go and pull the other boat over in the same manner. This was repeated at every shoal place. We moved both boats to deep water before night, and I then prepared for starting next morning. In my trip I fell in with Samuel M'Clure, of Wheeling. He had been down before. We kept together to New Orleans; and as this was my first trip he was of great use to me. His loading was chiefly flour. Nothing happened that I count worth relating until we got to New Orleans. Here we found the market overstocked with flour, and more landing every day. Shippers and owners both held off, the former in hopes of a fall and the latter in hopes of a rise. Five to six dollars was all we could get. We had five hundred barrels, and a dollar per barrel was a matter of importance. Many were anxious to return home and began to sell at the low prices. Mr. M'Clure and I concluded to store ours and wait a change in the market after flour ceased to flow in. Wharfage was also becoming onerous. We stored, sold our boats for what we could get, and took boarding with a French innkeeper.

I staid much about the house and the barkeeper being very petulant, would have quarrels on his hands, which I would take some trouble to adjust. The innkeeper asked me what I would take to tend bar for him? I told him I would do it for my boarding. He said, "You make peace in my house—you tend bar, I give you your boarding and fifty dollars a month—you make peace." It is very natural to suppose I accepted the terms. This gave me some advantage. Appearing in this character I had frequent opportunities of hearing shippers talking about the state of the market.

After staying about three months, about the last of June, when both owners and traders wish to depart, I heard the supercargo of one vessel tell another that he would buy a load that day. It was getting sickly, and he swore he would stay no longer. The other asked him what he would give? He said, "Eight dollars." That brightened my countenance, and I hunted M'Clure up. He was heart-sick of staying there in that hot season. I asked him what he would sell at? He said he would take seven dollars rather than stay any longer. I told him what I had heard. He told me to claim all the flour and do the best I could with it. I went back and told the shipper to come and take a drink at the bar, for I had a small lot of flour and I thought we would deal. We went and examined the flour, with which he was much pleased, and at once drew a check for four thousand dollars; and it was but little time before M'Clure and I were on our way home, which we reached safe and well.

Yours respectfully,

Jackson, Feb. 4th, 1842. George Samples

SIMON KENTON'S RESIGNATION.

THE following resignation is worthy a place in the Pioneer, as an item of history. From the wording of it some have thought it to be Kenton's handwriting. We have authority for saying Kenton could not write. That the document is genuine admits of not a shadow of doubt. It was found among general Gano's papers, and is endorsed in his own handwriting. The resignation is in the same hand as the signature.

April 18*th*, 1805.

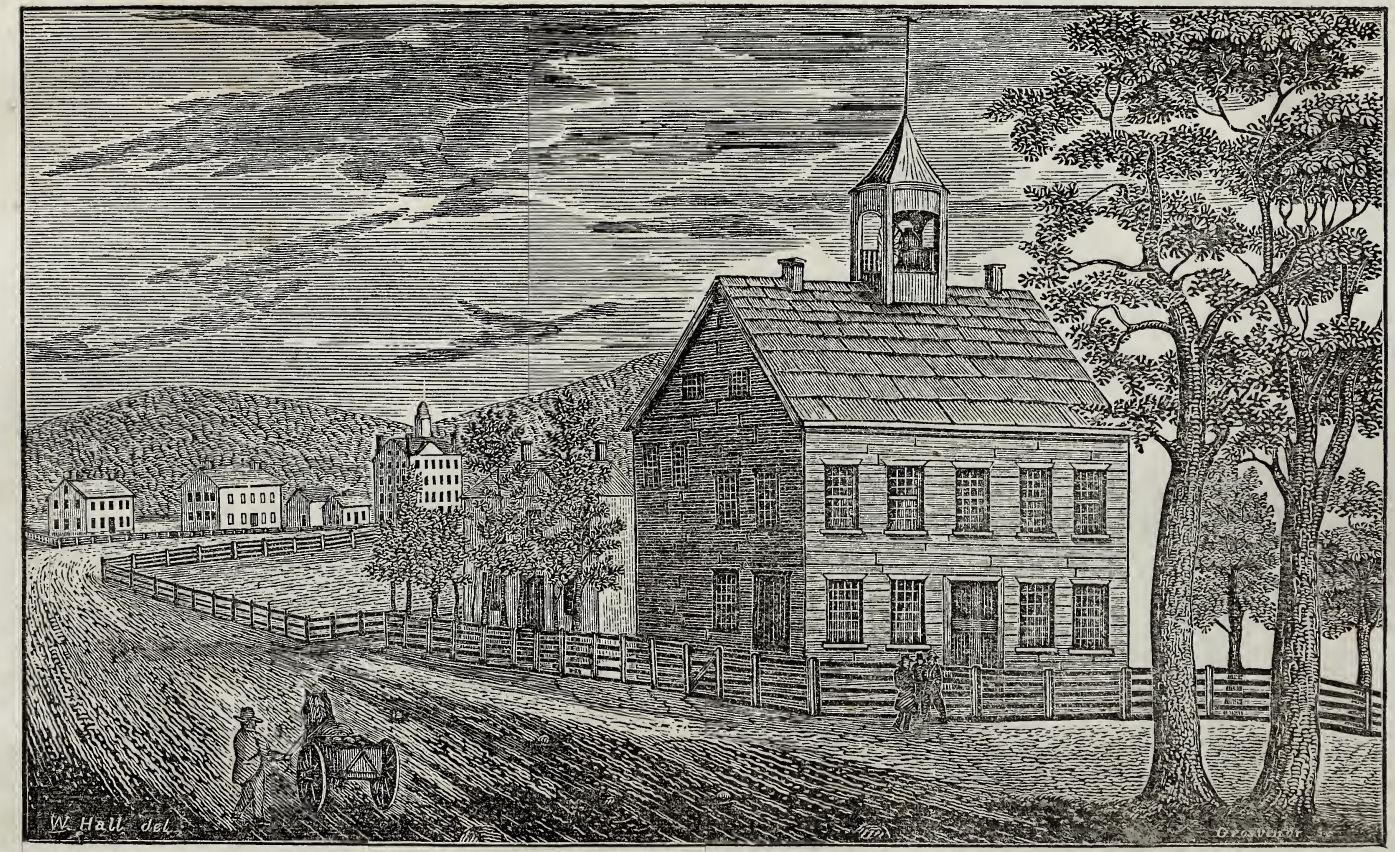
GENL. GANO:

Sir,—Having taken a Resolution of making a tour through the late acquired lands of the United States, in consequence of which think proper to resign up my commission of Brigadier of the militia, and you hereby requested to regard this as full notice of the same, given under my hand.

Simon Kenton

To John S. Gano, Major Genl.
of the 1st Division of Militia
in the state of Ohio.

[Endorsed, "General Kenton's resignation, April, 1805."]



COURT HOUSE AND JAIL AT MARIETTA, OHIO, BUILT IN 1798.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. MAY, 1842. NO. V.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE AND JAIL OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, OHIO.

[See Frontispiece.]

This court house was built in the year 1798, but was not completed until the following year. Griffen Green, Esq. was the architect; Dudley Woodbridge, Esq. and himself being the building committee. It is remarkable only from the fact of its being the oldest structure of the kind in the state of Ohio. The jail portion of this edifice, is seen in the print to occupy the back part of the building, and has no windows in sight. It is constructed of hewed yellow poplar logs, eighteen inches square, laid double, so that the walls are three feet thick. They are placed so as to break joints, like stone work or masonry, and fastened together with iron bolts. The floors, sides, and ceiling over head, in the jail rooms, are all built in this substantial manner, with doors and iron gratings of proportionate thickness. As a proof of its strength, no prisoner has ever escaped from its cells, except from the carelessness of the jailor. It was, and is to this day, one of the strongest prisons in the state. The main building is a frame, of two stories; being forty-five feet in length, and thirty-nine feet in breadth. The lower story, in front, is divided into two rooms, with a passage between them, leading to the jail in the back of the building. These rooms are occupied by the jailor and his family. The upper story, in front, was the court room, and is forty feet long by twenty broad, and thirteen feet in height. It is lighted by seven windows, and warmed by two fire-places. A flight of steps leads from the court room to two jury rooms, over the jail, raised about four feet above the main hall.

The roof is very steep, and surmounted by a neat cupola, in which is suspended, probably, the oldest bell in the state, being cast in Norwich, Connecticut, in the year 1802, by Barzalia Davidson. It is remarkable for being one of the finest toned bells, and is used, not only for the county courts, but also as the town bell; for many years being regularly rung at 9 A. M., 12 M. and 9 P. M, by the jailor, who is paid for this service by the corporation. For many years, in the

early part of this century, it was the custom to toll the bell, for a few minutes, on the death of any of the inhabitants, as well as at funerals; but the pious habit of our ancestors is now fallen into disuse.

In this old room, now for many years deserted by the bench and the bar, for a more elegant one of brick, erected in 1822, some of the ablest voices in the state have been heard. Here Paul Fearing, R. J. Meigs, and Jacob Burnet, the earliest attorneys northwest of the river Ohio, displayed their youthful powers, and unfolded talents that few at this day can excel. Here Charles Hammond and Philemon Beecher, for many years, attended as barristers, especially the latter. Here, also, Thomas Ewing, Esq. first essayed his mighty powers, and began that bright career of popular fame which elevated him to some of the first stations in the government. A host of others here also commenced their career in the labyrinths of the law.

The first court ever held in the Northwest territory, was opened in the northwest blockhouse of Campus Martius, the second day of August, A. D. 1788. Here they continued to be held during the Indian war. At the close of the war, and until this court house was built, the courts were held in the upper story of a blockhouse in the garrison at the junction of the Muskingum river with the Ohio. The lower story was used for a jail, but was so open that the prisoners often escaped by forcing out the puncheons between the logs. The old court house of Washington county, it is certain, cannot boast much of its architectural beauty, but it remains a fine model of the early days of Ohio, when strength and utility were not sacrificed to good looks.

S. P. Hildreth

Marietta, Feb. 16, 1842.

From the Marietta Intelligencer, of March 10.

THE FIRST COURT IN OHIO.

"The first court held northwest of the river Ohio, under the forms of civil jurisprudence, was opened at Campus Martius, (Marietta,) September 2d, 1788.

"It will be remembered, that on the preceding 7th of April, general Rufus Putnam, with forty-seven men, had landed and commenced the first permanent settlement in what is now the state of Ohio. General Harmar, with his regulars, occupied Fort Harmar. Governor St. Clair, and also general Samuel Holden Parsons and general James Mitchell Varnum, judges of the supreme court, arrived in July. The governor and judges had been employed from their arrival in exam-

ining and adopting such of the statutes of the states, as, in their opinion would be appropriate to the situation of this new colony. The governor had made appointments of civil officers for the administration of justice, and to carry into effect the laws adopted. Some idea may be obtained of the character of the early settlers of Ohio, by describing the order with which this important event, the establishment of civil authority and the laws, was conducted. From a manuscript written by an eye-witness, now in my possession, I have obtained the substance of the following. The procession was formed at the Point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order:—1st, The high sheriff, with his drawn sword; 2d, the citizens; 3d, the officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar; 4th, the members of the bar; 5th, the supreme judges; 6th, the governor and clergyman; 7th, the newly appointed judges of the court of common pleas, generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

"They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, (stockade,) where the whole countermarched, and the judges (Putnam and Tupper) took their seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The sheriff, colonel Ebenezer Sproat, (one of nature's nobles) proclaimed with his solemn 'O Yes,' that 'a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.' Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the state, few ever equalled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belong to the history of our country, in the darkest as well as the most splendid periods of the revolutionary war. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected, from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions, we are not told."

ANECDOTE.

A Swedish minister, says Franklin, having assembled the chiefs of the Susquehanna Indians, preached a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating of an apple, the coming of Christ to repair the mischief, his miracles, sufferings, &c. When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him, and said, "What you have told us is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. Better make them all into cider. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers."

SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following addition to the description of Campus Martius, was furnished too late for insertion in its proper place, but is too valuable to be lost. We therefore insert it here. It is from the pen of the same indefatigable author. Such a pioneer, as Mrs. Lake, deserves an honorable memento.

"Probably one of the first Sunday schools in America, was taught in this garrison. Mrs. Andrew Lake, a kind hearted, pious old lady, from New York, who had brought up a family of children herself, and therefore felt the more for others, took compassion on the children of the garrison, who were spending the Sabbath afternoons in frivolous amusements, and established a school in her own dwelling. After parson Story's services were finished, she regularly assembled as many of the younger children as she could pursuade to attend, and taught them the Westminster catechism, and lessons from the Bible, for about an hour. Her scholars amounted to about twenty in number. She was very kind and affectionate towards them, so that they were fond of assembling to listen to her instructions. Her explanations of Scripture were so simple and childlike, that the smallest of the little ones could understand them, and rendered very pleasant by her mild manner of speaking. The accommodations for the children were very rude and simple, consisting only of a few low stools and benches, such a thing as a chair being unknown in the garrison. One of her scholars, then a little boy of four years old, who gave me a sketch of the school, says for lack of a seat he was one day placed by the kind old lady on the top of a bag of meal, that stood leaning against the side of the room. The seed thus charitably sown in faith and hope, was not scattered in vain; as several of her scholars are now prominent members of the church."

We copy from the "Sunday School Journal," published in Philadelphia, of February 2d, 1842, the following:

"The fifty-first anniversary of the First Day, or Sunday School Society, was held at 146 Chesnut street, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 12, 1842, when the following officers were appointed for the ensuing year."

Again, from the same journal of Feb. 16, 1842, we copy the following:

"Peter Thompson, a venerable member of the society of Friends, and one of the benevolent individuals who opened a Sunday school, in Philadelphia, fifty-one years ago, this month, died on the 5th instant, aged 77."

We have no good data by which to arrive at even a tolerable estimate of the number of teachers and pupils in the thousands of Sabbath schools, now in the United States. If any friend of this great medium of good to man will prepare such an account of the Sabbath schools, it would be thankfully received.

REV. JOHN WILLIAMS.

Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Williams, first Minister in Deerfield, Massachusetts; with an Account of the sacking of that town by the French and Indians in 1703–4. *By* STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, A. M., M. D., *late Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Lake Erie, &c.*

[Communicated for the American Pioneer.]

CHAPTER II.

Murder of his wife—Her burial—Names of his children—More of the prisoners killed and himself near it—He preaches to the prisoners—Alarm in camp—Moose killing—Great suffering in forced marches—Arrival at Shamblee.

GENERAL HOYT continues to observe that Mr. Williams' first master was unwilling to have him speak to any of the prisoners on their march On the second day, however, he was put into the hands of another master, who allowed him to speak to his wife when he overtook her, and to walk with her and assist her in the journey. He comforted her with the assurance that they had a right to "an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, and God for their father and friend," and also told her that it was their duty to submit to the will of God with resignation. His wife now told him that her strength began to fail, and that he must soon expect to part with her, but she hoped that God would preserve his life, and the life of his children, whom, under God, she commended to his care. In suitable language she justified God in what had happened, and spoke not a murmuring word as to what had befallen them. The enemy soon made a halt, and his principal surviving master placed him in the foremost ranks of the prisoners, and recommenced their march. Here he bade adieu forever to the dear wife of his bosom, the "desire of his eyes," and the companion of his many joys and sorrows. Upon their separation they commended themselves to their Maker, and besought that grace of him which would be sufficient to sustain them under the allotments of his providence. After their separation, she spent the few remaining moments of her pilgrimage, as she had always been wont daily to do, in reading the holy Scriptures, which it seems the savages had allowed her to take with her. She had always been in the habit of reading her Bible, of prayer and meditation in her closet every day, in addition to the services of family worship.

Mr. Williams and the rest of the prisoners were made to wade over a small river, in which the water was above knee deep and very swift. This was Green river, about five miles northwest of the present village of Greenfield, at a place called Country Farms, near the dividing line between Greenfield and Leyden. After that he had to travel up a small mountain, and his strength was nearly exhausted before he came to the top of it. He was now permitted to sit down, and to have his pack taken from his back. While he sat here pitying those who were behind, he entreated his master to let him go and help his wife. He inhumanly refused him, and would not let him move a

foot from him. He inquired of the prisoners, as they passed, concerning her, and they informed him that in passing the river she was overpowered by the stream, and plunged headlong into the water. She was not able to travel far after this. She had just arisen from a bed of sickness. At the foot of the mountain which Mr. Williams had just ascended, the inhuman and blood-thirsty Indian, who had the care of her, slew her with his tomahawk at a blow. This news was truly heart-rending to him, and yet the savages reproached him for a want of manhood in shedding tears on account of her cruel murder. Nothing but the belief that she was taken away in mercy from the evil to come, and "joined to the assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect, to rest in peace and joy unspeakable and full of glory," would have kept him and his children from sinking in despair at that time. That passage of Scripture, and some others, came forcibly to his mind at that time, and afforded him much consolation—"Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

Shortly after this, her body was found by a party of men from Deerfield, brought back and buried in the town burying ground, and the grave-stone containing the following inscription is still to be seen there. "Here lyeth the body of Mrs. Eunice Williams, the virtuous and desirable consort of the Rev. John Williams, and daughter of Rev. Eleazer and Mrs. Esther Mather of Northampton. She was born Aug. 2, 1664, and fell by the rage of the barbarous enemy, March 1, 1703–4.—Prov. xxxi. 28. Her children rise up and call her blessed."

It may be proper in this place to mention the names of the children of Mr. and Mrs. Williams who were taken prisoners and carried to Canada at the time of the sacking of the town. They had in all eleven children. Three died in infancy. His eldest son, Eleazer was absent at the time of the destruction of the town, and consequently escaped the horrors of that dreadful scene. Two of their infant children were murdered before the commencement of their journey. Stephen, Samuel, and Warham were the sons, and Esther and Eunice the daughters who were carried captives to Canada.

When they were called upon to resume their march, it may well be supposed that a heavier load pressed upon Mr. Williams' spirits than upon his back. He prayed that the dear wife of his bosom might be found by his friends and receive Christian burial, which prayer, it seems was granted. On this day's march the Indians killed a sucking child and a girl about eleven years of age. It was a night of deep affliction to him, that so many of his flock should be thus inhumanly murdered, even at this short period since the destruction of the town, and at the prospect of so many more becoming the victims of unrelenting savage barbarity.

When they came to their place of rest for the night, one Indian sachem, or captain, from the eastward, consulted with his master about killing and scalping him. He raised his prayers to God and implored his protection in this time of tribulation, and afterwards told his master that if he intended to kill him, he requested that he would inform

him of it, assuring him at the same time, after he had solemnly promised to protect him, that his death would bring upon him the guilt of innocent blood. This address had the desired effect, and he promised not to kill him. They then lay down and slept quietly under the protecting hand of God.

On the morning of the 2d of March, they were all called before the sachems or leaders of the Macquas and Indians, and more equally distributed among them for the greater convenience of traveling. His best clothing was here taken from him. Here some of the prisoners informed him that they thought their enemies were going to burn him at the stake, as they had been observed to pull off the bark from several trees, and to conduct themselves in a very singular manner. He replied to them that they could do nothing without the permission of the Almighty, and that it was his opinion that he would prevent the enaction of such enormities. Several of the captives were here taken from their former masters, and exchanged into the hands of others. He was returned to the two masters who captivated him at his house.

On the third of March, being the fourth day of their journey, they had proceeded no farther than the upper part of Brattleborough, about thirty miles from Deerfield. Here the enemy killed another of his neighbors, a woman who was near the period of travail, much fatigued with her journey. Here they constructed hand sleighs for the accommodation of the wounded, the children and baggage, and they were thus enabled to travel at a greater rate than they had heretofore done. There must have been something of a thaw at this time, for he travelled several hours in water up to his ankles, and towards night he became as lame as if his ankles had been sprained, and he did not expect that he and several others would be able to hold out much longer. He, however, commended himself to God, beseeching him to remove his lameness, and assist him with his children and neighbors in bearing the fatigue of the journey, if he thought it best; if not, he desired him to be with him in the hour of death, and that he would provide for, and sustain his children and friends, and bless them. In a short time he was relieved of his lameness, to his great joy, and that of his friends. On the 4th of March, Saturday, their journey was severe and tedious, and four of the women became so tired that they were murdered by the savage Indians.

On the Sabbath, March 6th, they rested from their journey at the mouth of a river, which is named Williams from him, and he was permitted to preach to the prisoners. The Indians requested them to "sing them one of Zion's songs," and some of them were about reviling them because they did not sing as loud as they did on similar occasions. So long as the Indians and Macquas remained together, they were allowed to preach and pray with one another, and animate and encourage each other in their bondage; but when they arrived at New France, (Canada,) they were forbidden to associate with each other, and to preach or pray together.

The next day in the morning they were alarmed by the report of firearms and many of the prisoners were bound. This was occasioned by some of the Indians shooting at some wild geese which were

then migrating to the northern lakes. This must have been early in the season for their migrations, as they rarely if ever leave the southern climes until there have been several warm days in the spring. By almost unerring instinct they seem to know the period when the northern lakes are unlocked, and they then resort to them in thousands. After the Indians understood that they were not pursued by the English, they boasted that they would not come out after them as they had predicted in the morning. Two women, who were faint and exhausted, were this day murdered.

The next day a Mrs. Mary Brooks, a pious and godly woman, came to Mr. Williams' wigwam and informed him that she wished to bless God for inclining her masters to let her come and bid him adieu forever. She had fallen on the ice the day before, by which she injured herself so much as to produce a miscarriage, so that she was not able to travel far. She observed, "I know they will kill me to-day;" but also remarked that God had strengthened her for her last encounter with death, and mentioned several passages of Scripture which presented themselves to her mind for her support. She said she was not afraid of death, as she could, through the grace of God cheerfully submit to his will. She requested him to pray to God that he would take her to himself. She was killed that day, according to her prediction.

The next day, March 8th, the parties were divided into small companies at the mouth of White river. Some of them with Mr. Williams followed up this river over the Green mountain. Another party with one of his children took a northeastern direction and followed up the Connecticut. This latter party stopped some time at Coos meadows, which is now in the town of Newbury, in Vermont. They tarried here some time for the purpose of procuring game, as they were entirely out of provisions. Not succeeding to their minds, two of the prisoners, David Hoit and Jacob Dix, actually died from starvation.

On the evening of this day, Mr. Williams' master came to him with the pistol in his hand which he snapped at him on the morning he was taken prisoner. He presented it to his breast, and told him he would kill him with it, inasmuch as he had attempted to do the same to him. He was not much alarmed, and the good providence of God protected him.

The next day, March 9th, he was allowed to pray with that portion of the prisoners who remained with them, and they sang a psalm together. After which he was taken from the rest of the prisoners, except two children, one of whom, a little girl of four years of age, was murdered by a Macqua the next morning, on account of the depth of snow being so great, after they left the river, that he could not carry her and his knapsack.

The next Sabbath, March 12th, all the Indians went out hunting, except one and a boy, who remained to guard him. While here, left to his reflections, his soul was exceedingly sorrowful to think that he was separated from the congregation of his people who were now worshiping in the sanctuary he had just been forced to leave, and he was almost ready to sink under the burthen of his affliction. But

he found support in the following passages of Scripture which presented themselves to his consideration. Psalms cxviii. 17. "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." Psal. xlii. 11. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I yet shall praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God," and Nehemiah i. 8, 9. These passages animated him to perseverance and hope; and though his children were left without the guidance and direction of their parents, yet he was led to the belief that he should see them again from the following passage. Jer. xlix. 11. "Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me." Nor were his hopes without some foundation in reality. His youngest daughter, of the age of seven years, was carried, probably on the backs of the Indians, all the way to the end of their journey, and watched over with great care and tenderness. His youngest son, but four years old, was several times wonderfully preserved from death. Although they were many times exceedingly fatigued with carrying him on their backs or drawing him on their sledges, they still spared him, although tempted to kill him four several times. He finally reached Montreal, where a French lady, taking compassion on him, purchased him of the savages. His son Samuel and his oldest daughter were drawn on sleighs, or sledges, when they were unable to travel. They suffered very much for want of provisions, probably near Coos, where Hoit and Dix perished from hunger, and soon after another prisoner in that neighborhood. Stephen was brought into Shamblee about eight months afterwards.

Mr. Williams' master returned on the evening of the Sabbath, and informed him that he had killed five moose. The next day, March 13th, they were taken to the spot where he slew them. They tarried there three days, and roasted and dried the meat for their use on the journey. His master here made him a pair of snow-shoes. As the snow was very deep and rendered soft by thaws it would have been very difficult for him to travel without them. His pack being probably filled with the meat of the moose which had just been cured was very heavy, notwithstanding, by the aid of his snow-shoes, he was enabled to travel twenty-five miles the first day of wearing them; and as much farther by the afternoon of the next day, when they came to the French, or Onion river. He was here so tired that it seemed as if his bones were dislocated, and he was not able to travel with much speed. His master took his pack from him and drew his load upon the ice upon a sledge. His feet were so very sore every night that he wrung blood out of his stockings when he pulled them off. And before he wore his snow-shoes his shins were very sore, being cut by the crust upon the snow. He procured some oak leaves upon the river bank, and applied them to the sores, which very soon healed them. His master, it seems, was very kind to him, and always gave him the best he had to eat, and through the goodness of God he never suffered for the want of a meal of meat during his captivity, while many of his children and neighbours were nearly perishing with hunger, having for many days nothing but roots to eat, and these in stinted measure. His master also gave him part of a Bible, and

never disturbed him in reading it, or in praying to his God. The Indians were also very good to the other captives in this respect, allowing them Bibles, Psalm Books, &c. to use them as they pleased. After their arrival in Canada, every art was used to deprive them of them. Their Bibles were taken from them by the French priests and never afterwards given up to them.

Their march on the French or Onion river was very tedious, for fearing a thaw they traveled at a great rate. His feet and limbs were so bruised by walking on snow-shoes that he thought it would be impossible for him to continue his journey. One morning before daylight his master came to him, and awakened him out of sleep, and told him he must arise, pray to God and eat his breakfast, for they had a great journey to perform that day. After prayer he arose from his knees, but his feet were so swollen and painful that he could scarcely stand without holding by the side of his wigwam. The Indians told him he must run to day, but he told them he could not. His master, pointing to his tomahawk, told him he would then plunge it into his brain and scalp him. He replied that he supposed he would do it, but he could not travel fast on account of his bruises. He sent him away alone on the ice. His master soon overtook him and ordered him to run. He told him he could not, and he passed without farther notice, and for some time he scarcely saw him for the space of an hour. He traveled from before daybreak till after dark, without ever stopping at noon to eat warm victuals, only eating on the way some frozen meat which he had in his pocket. He conjectured that he traveled that day two of their day's journey, that is, as many as forty or forty-five miles. He found his strength renovated the farther he traveled, and he was more able to proceed in the afternoon than in the fore part of the day.

When they entered on the lake the ice was very rough, and it hurt his sore feet very much to travel upon it. He prayed to God that he would provide for him some method of relief. He had not traveled more than half a mile before there fell upon the ice a moist snow, about an inch an a half deep, which rendered the walking much more tolerable, and he was enabled soon to overtake his master. They then traveled about a day's journey from the lake to a small party of Indians who were there hunting. In their peculiar way they were kind to him, and gave him the best which their establishment afforded, such as moose meat, ground nuts, and cranberries, but no bread. He had not tasted of that luxury for three weeks. After tarrying there awhile, and being obliged to cut wood, and suffering from vermin, being compelled to wear the lousy old clothes of soldiers, which they placed upon him, after having deprived him of his own to sell to the French soldiers, they again commenced their march for Shamblee. They tarried two or three days at a branch of the lake, and feasted on wild geese, which they killed there. After one more day's travel they came to a river where the ice was thawed out, and in one day made a canoe of elm bark. They arrived on Saturday about noon, probably March 25th, at Shamblee, a small village, where there was a garrison and fort manned with French soldiers.

CHAPTER III.

From Shamblee to Quebec—Arts of the Jesuits—Mr. Williams redeemed by governor De Vaudreuil—Finds some of his children and has an interview with them.

SHAMBLEE is about fifteen miles from Montreal. Here he received kind treatment from the French, and a gentleman invited him to his house, and the hospitalities of his table, and at night furnished him with lodgings upon a good feather bed, a luxury of which he had been deprived for a great length of time, even in a climate which was then almost Siberian. During the time he tarried there all the officers and inhabitants treated him very politely, and promised to write to the governor of Canada, and inform him of his passage down the river. Here he saw a young man and a girl from Deerfield, who told him that the greatest part of the captives had arrived, and that two of his children were at Montreal. As they were journeying along the river towards Sorel, they went into a house where they found a woman from Deerfield, who had been left there to be conveyed to the Indian fort. The French treated her kindly, as well as Mr. Williams, and gave them the best provisions which the house afforded. She went on board the boat with them to go down to the fort at St. Francois. At the first inhabited house they came to at Sorel, a French woman came to them, and requested them to go to her house. Upon entering it, she took compassion upon them, and informed them that during the last war she had been a prisoner among the Indians, and that she knew how to feel for them in their distressed situation. She gave the Indians some food in the chimney corner, but spread a cloth upon a table for Mr. Williams and his party, with clean napkins. This gave the Indians great offence. It certainly was an unwise step on the part of the lady. The Indians hastened away and would not call at the fort. Whenever they entered into the French houses, they uniformly treated them courteously. On their arrival at the river St. Francois, they found it obstructed by ice. Upon entering the house of a Frenchman, he gave them a loaf of bread, and some fish to carry away with them. They passed down the river till night, where seven of them feasted upon a fish called a bull-head or pout, (Silurus felis?) and did not eat the whole of it.

The next morning, owing to the quantities of floating ice in the river, they were obliged to leave their canoe, and travel by land. They called at the house of a French officer, who took them into a private room, away from the Indians, and treated them very courteously. They arrived that evening at fort St. Francois. There they found several children who, the summer before, had been captured at the eastward. In their habits they had become like the Indians, and they were very much affected at their appearance. Two Jesuits lived at this fort, one of whom was afterwards made a superior of the Jesuits at Quebec. One of them met Mr. Williams at the gate and asked him to go into the church and render thanks unto God for preserving his life. He told him he could do that in some other place. When the bell rang for evening prayers he ordered him to go, but he still refused. The Jesuit went to their wigwam and made a short prayer.

and invited him to sup with him. He justified the Indians in their proceedings against the English, relating some things said to have been done by major Walden (Waldron ?) more than thirty years ago. He stated that this was a just retaliation, and blamed the English for commencing the war against the Indians, and further stated that they had barbarously and inhumanly burnt and killed many Indians both before and during the last winter. Mr. Williams replied to him that the Indians had in a most perfidious manner murdered many of our inhabitants after having signed a treaty of peace, and as to English cruelties, he knew they were false, as they never approved of such acts of inhumanity. The Jesuit stated that the cause of the war was an Englishman's killing one of Casteen's relations, for in a general council of the nation it had been determined not to engage in war on either side until they themselves were first encroached upon, when they would all engage against those who first molested them. And after Casteen's kinsman was slain, a messenger was despatched to Canada to inform the Macquas and Indians that the English had commenced hostilities. They immediately rallied their forces, and joined with the French, and proceeded to New-England. On their march thither, they were informed by some eastern Indians that satisfaction had been made for that murder, by the English, and that peace had been concluded with them. The Macquas told them that this event had come too late, that they had now come down as they were sent to attack the English, and that they would also attack them, if they dared, without their consent, to make peace with the English. He also said that a letter was shewn them from the governor of Port Royal, which was taken on board of an English ship, from the queen of England to the English governor, stating that she approved of the design to ensnare and captivate the Indians in a deceitful manner. Being enraged at that letter, they were forced, as it were, to commence the present war. Mr. Williams told him that "the letter was a lie, forged by the French."

At the ringing of the bell, next morning, his master ordered him to go to church, and he refused. He threatened him and went away in a great passion. At noon the Jesuit sent for him to dine with him, for he always ate with them while he remained at the fort. After dinner they told him that the Indians would not allow any of the prisoners to remain in their wigwams while they were at church; and they informed him that even force and violence would be resorted to, to compel them to attend their meetings, if they would not go without. Mr. Williams, in a truly liberal spirit, replied that it would be unjust and unreasonable in the extreme to force them to be present at a service which they abhorred, and which in his opinion, was altogether unbecoming the letter and spirit of Christianity. They observed that they were savages and would not be crossed in their determinations, nor would they listen to reason, and stated that if they were in New-England, they would attend our churches and witness our modes of worship. They also observed that the Indians were determined to have him attend their church, and would not be pacified without he complied.

At the next mass his master ordered him to go to church, and upon

his objecting, he seized him by his head and shoulders, and forced him from the wigwam to the church, which was close by. He went in and sat down behind the door, and instead of gospel order, he beheld much discord and confusion. One of the Jesuits was at the altar saying mass in language unknown to the savages; another between the altar and the door, singing and praying among the Indians at the same time, and others were repeating their paternosters and Ave Maria's from their beads. When they left the church he smiled at their ceremonies, which displeased them, for they thought he derided their worship. Soon after the Jesuits asked him how he liked their mode of worship. He told them, as in the language of Christ, Mark viii. 7, 8, 9—"Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups, and many such like things ye do. And he said unto them, full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition." They observed they were not the commandments of men, but traditions of the apostles, equal in authority with the Bible, and stated that he would repent his not praying to the Virgin Mary for her intercession with her Son for him, and condemned him to hell for asserting that the Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith. He told them that it was his comfort that Christ was to be his judge, and not they, at the great day.

One day a squaw named Ruth, who had been taken prisoner in Philip's war, who had lived at Weathersfield, and who could speak the English language tolerably well, and who had formerly been at Mr. Williams' house, being now a convert to the Romish faith, came to his wigwam with her English maid, dressed in the Indian manner. This maid was taken in the last war, but was unable to speak a word of the English language, nor could she tell her own name, nor the name of the place where she was captivated. These women had a long conversation with his master in the Indian language. He soon after ordered him to cross himself. He told him he would not, and persisted in it, though commanded several times. Ruth was quite indignant to think he would not obey his master, referring to that text of Scripture, who says, "Servants, obey your masters." He replied that he should not disobey God for the sake of obeying any earthly master. This was interpreted by her to his master, who took hold of Mr. Williams' hand and forced him to cross himself, but he struggled, and would not suffer him to guide his hand. He then ordered him to kiss a crucifix which he pulled off from his neck, but he repeatedly refused to do it. His master then told him that he would knock his brains out with his tomahawk if he refused. He told him that he should prefer death to sinning against God. The Indian then seized his tomahawk and made a violent shew of attacking him with it. Mr. Williams remained undaunted, when he threw down the hatchet, at the same time threatening to bite off all his nails if he still refused. He gave him his hand and told him he might proceed. He grasped his thumb with violence between his teeth and said, "No good minister, no love God, as bad as the devil," and he let him go, nor did he ever afterwards attempt to molest him in his religious

opinions. He asked permission of the Jesuit to pray with the prisoners from Deerfield, that were with him, but they absolutely refused him, and tried every means in their power to prevent their coming together.

A few days after this, governor De Vaudreuil dispatched two men with letters to the Jesuits, requesting them to order Mr. Williams' being sent to him at Montreal. Upon receiving this request, one of the Jesuits, with his two masters, took him, with two others from Deerfield, a man and his daughter, seven years of age, along with them. Upon their arrival at the lake, the wind was very boisterous, and they were afraid to go over, and said they would wait and see whether it would lull, or change. Mr. Williams went into the woods, and offered up a petition to God, that the winds might be propitious, and that he might be enabled soon to see his children and neighbors, and learn something concerning their situation. On his return the winds were more boisterous, and so a second and third time. The Jesuit and his master advised them to return to the fort, for such winds frequently continued three days, and sometimes six. After it had continued as much as six hours, he said to them, "The will of the Lord be done," and they launched the canoe into the river. This was no sooner done than the wind calmed, and by the time they got into the middle of the river, the gale had so far subsided that they were enabled afterwards to pass the lake in safety. After they had got over the lake, wherever they went, the French always treated them with respect and compassion.

When he arrived at Montreal, which was on Tuesday, April 25th, eight weeks after he was captivated, governor De Vaudreuil redeemed him from the Indians, gave him good articles of clothing, of which he was very much in need, fed him at his own table, and furnished him with a good chamber. In short, he was generous, courteous, and polite to him. He sent for two of his children who were there in the city, and promised to do all that lay in his power towards redeeming his other children and neighbors from the hands of the savages. His change of diet was such at this time as to cause considerable alteration in his bodily appearance, and brought on a slight sickness for which he was bled and physiced and treated with great tenderness. The governor also purchased his eldest daughter of the Indians. She was conveyed to the hospital and carefully treated until she recovered from a lameness which she contracted on the journey. His youngest daughter was also redeemed by a lady in the city who purchased her of the Indians as they passed by. The Indians after conversing with the priests as they passed the fort, tried to re-purchase her of the lady, and offered her a man for the child, stating that the man was a weaver and might be of service to her in the undertaking of the making of cloth, in which she was then about engaging, while the child would be unprofitable to her. She would not accede to their terms, which was very fortunate for Mr. Williams, for had they obtained her, she would have remained among them at the fort, as the other children did. The governor instructed certain of his officers to obtain the rest of his children of the Indians, and as many of his neighbors as they could. A merchant living in the city

procured his eldest son after about six weeks, and took him home to live with him. He had difficulty in persuading the savages to part with him. An Indian, by the name of Sagamore George, of Penacook, called upon him from Coos, and informed him that his son Stephen was near that place. Some money was put into his hands to redeem him, and a promise of more if he was successful. He proved treacherous and unfaithful, and he did not see his son for more than a year. The governor commanded a priest to accompany him to the Macquas to see his youngest daughter Eunice, and endeavor to procure her release. He went with him and was very courteous to him, and from his parish near the fort of the Macquas, he wrote a letter to the Jesuit, and requested him to send his child to him, and also to request his master to accompany her. The Jesuit returned an answer that he should not be permitted to see or speak with his child, and "that the Macquas would as soon part with their hearts as with his child." The governor was enraged when Mr. Williams shewed him this letter, and he assured him that he should both see and speak with his child, and that he would use all his endeavors to redeem her. He accordingly instructed the Jesuits to use their influence with the Indians for procuring the child, and in a few days accompanied Mr. Williams in person to the fort. When his child was brought into the room where he was, he had liberty granted him to speak to her, but to no other English person there. She was about seven years of age. They conversed together about an hour. She remembered her catechism, and had not forgotten how to read. She was very anxious to be redeemed from the Macquas, and was unhappy in her captivity. She moaned over the profanation of the Sabbath, stating that she thought a few days before they were mocking the devil, and one of the Jesuits stood watching them. Her father told her that she must pray to God to direct her. She said that she did as far as she knew how, and that God assisted her, but she observed they forced her to pray in Latin, which she did not understand, and which she hoped would do her no harm. He told her that she must not forget her catechism, and those portions of Scripture which she had learnt. Some of the prisoners afterwards informed him that she told them that she remembered almost every word he said to her, and that she was very fearful that she should forget her catechism, having no one to instruct her. A few days after this he saw her for a few moments in the city, and gave her the best advice he could. The governor used every effort to redeem her for him, and at one time he had the promise of her if he would procure for them an Indian girl in her stead. He sent several hundred miles and procured one, but the Indians would not adhere to their bargain. He also offered them one hundred pieces of eight for her release. Still they refused to give her up. The governor's lady also visited them, and used all the arts she was mistress of to induce them to part with her, but all in vain. At the time Mr. Williams was redeemed, she was left among the Indians, and no money could procure her redemption. She soon forgot the English language, became an Indian in her habits, married an Indian, who assumed the name of Williams, and had several children by him. Some years after this she visited Deerfield in her Indian dress. She

attended meeting in her father's church while here, and her friends dressed her in the English fashion. She indignantly threw off her clothes in the afternoon and resumed the Indian blanket. Every effort was used to persuade her to leave the Indians, and remain among her relations, but in vain. She preferred the mode of life, and the haunts of the Indians, to the unutterable grief of Mr. Williams and her friends.

Her descendants have frequently visited Deerfield since, and claimed a relationship with the family and descendants of Mr. Williams, and been kindly treated by them. Mr. Eleazer Williams, one of her grandsons, was educated at Dartmouth college, by the munificence of his friends, in New-England, studied divinity, and was a short time since, preaching at Green Bay on lake Michigan.

As Mr. Williams was passing from the fort where he had just had a conversation with his daughter, he saw some of his Deerfield friends, who were very anxious to speak to him, and the Indians granted their request, but the Jesuits forced him along, and only allowed him to tell them in a low voice, that some of their relations, concerning whom they inquired, were in the city, and well.

On his return to the city he was dispirited, for he was not allowed to pray, even with the captives who resided in the same house, and the prisoners who came to visit him, were thrust back by the guard at the door, and not allowed to speak to him. The guard were so strict that he was hardly allowed to go out on necessary occasions. Whenever he went to the city, a privilege which the governor always allowed him, when he requested it, he was watched by spies to see whether he spoke to the English. He told some of them that they must recollect former instructions, and for a while keep at a greater distance, believing that he should have more liberty in a short time, for conversing with them. On a Sabbath day some spies, observing more than three of them together, which number they were not to exceed, immediately informed the priest of it. The next day the priest reminded him that he had transgressed their orders, and told him that he had spoken disrespectfully concerning their religion. He requested of the governor that no forcible means might be used with the prisoners respecting their religion, which he by no means allowed of.

When he first arrived at Montreal, the governor told him that he should be sent home as soon as a man by the name of captain Battis was returned, and not before, and that he was captivated to procure his release. The governor seemed always to sympathize in his sorrows, and appeared to be willing to have him see his children. Mr. Williams one day informed him of his desire of walking in the city. He cheerfully consented, and his eldest son accompanied him to the door, when he saw the guard stop him. He informed his father, who came to the door, and inquired why they prevented the gentleman from passing out? They informed him that they were ordered to do so. The governor, in an angry voice assured them that his orders were not to be disobeyed. Shortly after, Mr. Williams was ordered to Quebec. Among other things, to shew that the governor's orders were not always regarded, when he had been at Montreal two days,

he requested leave of the priest to visit his youngest child, who replied that when he wished it he would bring it to him, but that the governor was not willing that he should go to see it. Not many days after, while at dinner, the governor's lady, seeing him depressed in spirits, spoke to an officer in Latin, that he should go with them and see his two children. After dinner he was carried to see them. At the house he found three or four English prisoners, who resided there, and he was permitted to converse with them. Not long after this, she invited him to visit the hospital with her to see some of his neighbors who were sick there.

One of the Jesuits called upon the governor, and informed him in presence of the rest of the company, "that he never saw such persons as were taken from Deerfield:" that the Macquas would not allow the prisoners to remain in their wigwams while they were attending mass; they always took them to church, but they could not prevail upon them to kneel in prayer, but they did this immediately upon their return to their wigwams. He also stated that they could do nothing with the adults, and that they often prevented children from complying with their modes of worship.

At this place Mr. Williams noticed that they were very much elated at the return of captain Montining from Northampton with information of the success of the French and Indians against New England. As they had sent out an army of seven hundred men, two hundred of whom were French, accompanied by several Jesuits, they threatened that they would destroy all the settlements on Connecticut river. As their general was a man of undaunted bravery, the superior of the priests told Mr. Williams that he had no doubt that their efforts would be successful, and they must not flatter themselves with a very short captivity. Their designs were frustrated, and the expedition proved abortive.

Mr. Williams was sent to Quebec with governor De Ramsey, of Montreal, and the superior of the Jesuits, and directed to live with one of the council, from whom, during seven weeks, he received many favors. He informed him that it was the act of the priest in sending him here before the arrival of the governor, and that if he called frequently upon the prisoners, or they upon him, he would certainly be sent to some place where he could not hold converse with them.

REVOLUTIONARY ANECDOTES.

BY JAMES BERRY.

The following recital is in accordance with the idea that living witnesses may yet be found to testify of things as far back as our revolutionary struggle. A delay of only a few years, and such opportunities will become very rare. Mr. Berry is still vigorous in mind and body, for a man of his age, and as an illustration of it, we give a fac-simile of his signature, written without glasses, which he seldom uses. Those who know him are by no means disposed to doubt the active courage of the youthful soldier, which he was

during the revolution. That he speaks mostly of acts and deeds in which he took a conspicuous part, is both natural and proper. Who knows so well, and if knowing, who remembers so well the acts of others as those in which they themselves were conspicuous? These enter deepest into the mind, and are longest and best remembered, and Mr. Berry has wisely hazarded very little by straying out into the recital of the acts of others, or those less important of his own, around which the length of years may have thrown the mists of uncertainty.

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Introduction—Mr. Berry enters the army and goes to Perth Amboy—Position of the British and American forces—Arrangement to take the fort on Staten island—Failed, but surprised the guard at Cuckoldtown—Chased the guard off, killing some and taking sixteen prisoners—Got back just in time to escape being taken—Flag of truce—General Mercer's compliment for bravery—Hessian desertion—Chase across the Jerseys and battle of Trenton—Of Princeton—Attempt to steal a sloop, failed—Arnold rescued from the pursuit of a British barge—Arnold's plot to take Washington prisoner—Andre captured—His personal appearance and execution—Arnold's personal appearance—Cherry Chew taken and sentenced to be hung—His execution.

Mr. Williams,—Your request to receive from me what I know about the revolutionary war shall be answered, but I cannot promise to give all at once. I shall simply relate such things as I well remember and in which I was engaged, and leave others to tell of their own deeds. I was a volunteer during the whole revolutionary war, remaining in the army only during the summer season, except one winter campaign. I was born in the state of Delaware, about three miles from a place called Smyrna, on the 14th day of October, 1759. I entered first into captain Thomas Skillington's company, which belonged to the flying-camp regiment, in August, in the year 1776. We went from Smyrna to Philadelphia, and from thence to Perth Amboy, where we laid without doing any thing material till November. I acted as fugleman. We were under general Mercer. He had taken our regiment to strengthen his. They were doing nothing. The British and Hessians were on Staten island, the Hessians right opposite, and we used occasionally to fire across. The British always kept the Hessians between them and danger, in battle and out. Of these on Staten island there were six or seven thousand. There was also on the island some six or eight miles of a fort in possession of the British, and a guard of three hundred men at Cuckoldtown, eighteen miles distant.

There were two thousand one hundred men at the old Blazing Star, on the Hudson, who agreed to meet us on Staten island, on a certain night, for the purpose of surprising the British fort. Our officers beat for volunteers to go over and help take the British fort: at the first trial only one private volunteered. The general said: "Gentlemen,

from your looks I thought you would all have stepped out in a body; instead of which, there is but one, and I believe he is the youngest man in the regiment." We, however, made up eighty-two volunteers, including officers.

We got over just at dark, but the night proved to be so bad the men from the Blazing Star did not meet us. Having got the spirit up we were determined not to go back without some game, and as we could not carry the fort, we determined to attack the guard at Cuckoldtown. We did not think there were as many as three hundred at it, or perhaps we should not have ventured it. We, however, put off and arrived at the guard just at daybreak, and surprised the guard while they were cooking their breakfasts. Their numbers a little surprised us, but we were determined to make the best of it. We made as great a show as we could. The surprise was complete. They had six sentries, and the first thing we did was to shoot every one down at once.

The guard then took to the meeting house, and we pursued them and were within fifty yards of them. They made fight at the door, but we were so close and shot them down so fast that they turned back and ran out at the back door in order to escape to the fort. We killed thirty-nine at the door. I observed that they were escaping out at the back door, and having no thought of death or danger I called to some of the boys to run round with me and stop them; but I suppose none heard me, and perfectly regardless about help, I ran round, and as I turned the corner I shot a Hessian at the back door, and unarmed as I was I rushed to the door and stood on the step and ordered them to surrender. I suppose they thought from my bold manner that I was an officer, for I wore a buck's tail in my hat. The British said: "We will surrender, but we do not know that the Hessians will." There were then only eighteen in the house, nine of each. I rushed right in and took hold of one of the Hessians' guns which he gave up without resistance, and I sat it down in one corner of the meeting house, and by signs, which they could not mistake, ordered the rest to do the same, which they all did. I then formed them two and two and marched them out round the house. This was all done by the force of thoughtless determination on my part and of panic on theirs; for I have no doubt they thought I was backed at the door by the whole company.

By this time, for all was done in less than one minute, an adjutant, whose name was Lucas, not knowing what was going on, and thinking that the whole squad had ran off, and perhaps glad to get rid of them so easily, had formed the men, and was marching off. When

I came round the meeting house I called to him to stop, which he did till I marched the prisoners up. After taking our breakfast we marched back and arrived at the river, in sight of Amboy, in the afternoon. The boat was so much overloaded that myself and two more agreed to remain on the island till they could send for us, which they did immediately. We got in the boat and shoved off, and at that moment six or eight hundred British, who pursued us from the fort, arrived, but not quite in time to take us prisoners. We had got off too far to be in much danger. They hallooed for us to come back. We told them we would by and by. We talked a spell and went over. General Mercer asked me what they said. I told him that the major who came from the fort wanted me to say that he wished to exchange for his brother, who was sergeant of the guard, and who was among the prisoners. General Mercer said that could not be done without the consent of general Washington, who was eight or ten miles off.

They hoisted a flag, and the general asked me if I would go over to them. I said I would if he wished it. I had learned the most implicit obedience to the wishes of superiors from an Irish schoolmaster who taught me. The general told me to hoist a flag too. I tied my handkerchief to my sword and went over holding it up. I met the major at the shore and shook hands with him. He asked me how many men we had at the surprise at Cuckoldtown. I told him, a plenty. He said, I noticed your outward tracks, and I don't think there could have been over a hundred—I thought to have waylaid you and took you. I told him, there was where he missed it. He asked me to tell him truly how many we had. I knew we had not disgraced ourselves, and told him eighty-two, including officers. He turned to his men and said; "Don't that beat old Harry; eighty-two rebels to chase three hundred soldiers, killing about half their own number, and taking eighteen prisoners?" He then said to me, "I think you were a pretty bold set of youngsters to go so far to attack so many, when we have such forces all around your path." I said, "We are just beginning to fight, and that was not a breakfast spell for us." "It seems not," said he, "to be a breakfast spell for you indeed." There was then great grumbling and swearing among them about it. I walked up very carelessly among the soldiers, eyeing them very closely to see what kind of stuff they were made of, and concluded they could never fight with us. They appeared to me to be too pussy. When about to start the major told me to give his compliments to his brother, and tell him he would effect his release as soon as possible, and that he would send him some money if he had a chance.

I told him I would take it, and he sent five guineas by me, for which his brother was very thankful, and particularly to me for its safe delivery; for, he said, I might have kept it without his ever knowing it.

When I returned, the general asked me what I went among them for? I said I wanted to see what kind of cattle they were, and I found them a little set of fellows not fit to fight with us. The general then told colonel Neil to give me a lieutenant's commission, and eighteen days of grace; "for," says he, "he was the first private to volunteer, and the main one at taking prisoners. Let him have no duty to perform, except just what he chooses, and as a mark of distinction, let him wear a cedar twig in his hat during that time." The next parade day great numbers had cedar twigs in their hats, which the general noticed, and ordered that the next time any who were caught with that badge, except he had ordered it, should have fifteen lashes. That put cedar twigs out of fashion, except with myself.

These nine Hessians, which we took, were the first that were taken prisoners. They were much alarmed at the thought of being prisoners among the Americans, for they had been taught to think that we killed and scalped our prisoners, and made drum heads of their hides. Their fears immediately subsided, for they got among the Dutch at Amboy, who spoke their own language, and used them as well as their own folks. When they found this, they wrote letters to their friends on the opposite side of the river, and put them in a little keg headed up tight, and at full tide and fair wind set it afloat. It floated right across to the Hessian encampment, and we got three hundred deserters in about a week. They raised all the boats that they could, and the British had to remove them to prevent total desertion.

In December, the British chased us across the Jerseys. After we crossed the Raritan at New Brunswick, we halted and made battle, but they were too strong for us, and we had to retreat quite across the Delaware at Trenton. During the Christmas holydays, Washington thought the Hessians would be drinking, and it would be a good time to give them a brushing. He divided his forces, and sent general Cadwalader and another general to Burlington and Bordentown, to give the English battle at those places, where they had gone into winter quarters. But they could not get across for the ice. We had hard work to cross nine miles above Trenton. After we had crossed, we marched down to where the Hessians were quartered. We killed on December 26th, one hundred and forty-four, I think. They soon threw down their arms and cried for quarter. We took about one thousand prisoners, about equal to one third of the army, which was not sent to Burlington and Bordentown. James Monroe was in that

battle, and received a small wound on the shoulder. I saw him, and talked these things all over with him, at Louisville, Kentucky, when he was through this country, while he was president.

We brought the Hessians down to Philadelphia and put our troops together, and then went back to Trenton to fight the English. They thought they would have fine work taking us. We retreated over the Sant Pink, but they did not follow us. We fought across the run till evening. We kindled fires to deceive them, and left a few to keep the fires burning, while the army went to Princeton. We got there just after daylight. They were just starting to help take us. We gave them a salute. We killed about one hundred and sixty of them, and they killed sixty-three of the Virginians. Among them was general Mercer himself. They fled, and we ran them two miles and took about four hundred prisoners.

I staid with the army that winter, and we had hard skirmishing in the Jerseys through the whole of it. After that my usual practice was to go home when the army went into winter quarters, as I was only a volunteer. I went out every summer during the war. After the army went south, I went with colonel Pope to keep the tories off Bomb Hook. He had a vessel that he used to send to Philadelphia, &c. for supplies, and a tory sailor by the name of Jack, who was a purchased servant. He went on Pope's vessel so much as to know the channels and was a good pilot. Some of the tories got in with him to help them to steal Pope's sloop, and take her to the British at New York. The time arrived that they agreed to take her on full tide from Pope's landing on Duck creek, and thus get her out into the Delaware. Pope got wind of it, and he sent me and another down the creek to fall a certain tree across, before they could get down, and by the time we had it down, he came himself with fourteen others, making now seventeen in all. The night was very dark, and we all stood at the stump ready for them, knowing that when the sloop would run against the tree, they would all run forward to see what was the matter. In a little while they approached in high glee, laughing at the anger Pope would show off in the morning. They had a row boat in front, helping to tow her out. It first came against the fallen tree, and then the next moment the sloop ran jamb against it. We were ready for them. It turned out as we expected, they all ran forward without observing us. Pope gave the order, and we fired on them and killed five that were left on the sloop. The rest made their escape or got drowned. Jack cried out "that is colonel Pope," as he jumped with several others into the water, and it was the last we ever heard of him. Thus ended that stealing match.

I will now pass over many things which I know concerning the war, and which I may give at another time, and relate something about the traitor Arnold, and the execution of Andre. Just after Arnold and Andre had completed their traitorous plot, to decoy Washington to West Point and deliver him up prisoner of war, and just after Andre had left West Point for New York, I happened to be on the Hudson, at the mouth of Sloaten creek, about two miles from Washington's head-quarters. I saw an American boat rowed by four soldiers, with a gentleman in it, making all speed for the mouth of the creek, chased by a British barge, which had a mounted swivel, but no small arms. I ran to the guard house to tell them of it. The sergeant of the guard was away, but his four men were on duty. I told them of the situation of the Americans, and they agreed to go with me to try and rescue them. I put on the sergeant's accoutrements, and we ran down to the river. I told them we would keep apart, and as they had nothing but a swivel, they would kill but one of us at one shot. We got to the river just as the boat entered the creek, with the barge close after her. We fired on the barge very briskly, and they on us with their swivel, which made the mud fly all over us, but did no further damage. They soon retreated, and the gentleman in the American boat had been landed on our side of the creek, and ordered the men to row her over to the other side. It was no other than Arnold, the traitor, himself. We insisted on his letting us have his boat and men to go and take the barge, but he refused. "None of you are hurt, and you had better let them alone," said he, and would not let them come across the creek to us, as we would have been likely to have taken her at any rate. We felt hungry for the barge. They rowed across the Hudson and landed at the White-house tavern, from whence we afterwards learned, that we had killed five, and wounded eight of their men.

He then made himself known to me, and said he wanted to go to head-quarters, as he had particular business with general Washington. Had I known what the fellow was at, I should have been ready to shoot him down on the spot. I told him it was about two miles to head-quarters. He lifted up his foot and took hold of his heel, which, he said, was wounded in the battle at Ticonderoga, and that he could not walk. Being well known there, I had no difficulty in procuring a horse for him. Washington, by the good providence of God, was absent from head-quarters, and so that part of the plot failed, for Arnold's errand was to invite him to dine at West Point, next day, to make a prisoner of him.

The second morning after that, they brought major Andre in as a

prisoner to Dobbs' ferry, where we were building a blockhouse, two miles below Sloaten creek. He had been taken on his way to New York. He was taken to one Jemison's, and went by the name of John Anderson. Jemison allowed him to write a letter to Arnold, while he was a prisoner. I always blamed Jemison for Arnold's escape, and thought he had a little of the tory in him, for all he had a company to watch the tories to keep them from trading with the British at New York. He had no business to let Andre write to any body, while he was a prisoner under such charges, and especially to Arnold, as there were good reasons to believe he (Arnold) had a hand in the plot.

Andre looked to be about twenty-five to twenty-eight years old, very good looking, about five feet nine or ten inches high, well set, with fine features—I think light hair. He was not dressed in uniform when I saw him. I went to see him hung, but the execution was put off, as was understood, because Washington was trying to exchange him for Arnold with the British. He was hung on the next day, but I was not present.

Arnold was a low set man, round face, say fifty years of age. When we rescued him, he was in citizen's dress. His hair was dark.

Sometime after Andre was hung, I went home, and joined a company to go against Cherry Chew, a tory who had fortified himself in Queen Anne's forest, and had got about five hundred tories about him, who subsisted by depredations on the country. He was a great pest. We raised a company and attacked his fort. His men were great cowards, and stood almost no siege at all. They broke from the fort, and left old Cherry to his fate. We chased him to his house, which, was a kind of blockhouse, and a little distance from the fort. He had five muskets which his wife loaded, and by this means they were able to keep up a pretty regular fire. They made a stout resistance. They killed one Joseph Moore. Another person was knocked down by a bullet striking his stock buckle, which in all probability saved his life. We rushed to the door, broke it down, and took old Cherry prisoner to Dover, where he was tried and sentenced to be hung.

There was much fear that the tories would raise a force, and endeavor to rescue him, as they threatened to do it. The people at Dover, knowing that fighting was sport to me, sent for me to command the guard on the day of execution. There was no attempt of the kind made. After he was hung, his wife came and begged for his body, which request was granted to her. Thus ended Cherry Chew, a brave and honorable man, but on the wrong side in that contest. We should probably have made much shorter work with him, had

we not hoped that we could have got information from him, that would help to detect others; but he died without dropping the least hint to any one, by which any other person could be implicated.

Given under my hand, at the city of Cincinnati, for the American Pioneer, this 9th day of March, 1842.

James Berry

We copy the following beautiful verses from the "American Mechanic," a paper published in New York, edited by Rufus Porter, Esq. It is worthy of the patronage of every friend of his country.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

A glorious race they were—the tried,
The true of ancient time—
Our glorious sires, who bled and died
For this our own free clime;

Oh! hallowed be each sacred name,
That fearless to the conflict came,
And freely on the battle plain
Poured out their blood like drops of rain.

Few are the sculptured gifts of art,
A Nation's love to tell;
And many a brave and gallant heart
Hath mouldered where it fell.

The spiry maize luxuriant waves
Its long green leaves o'er heroes' graves;
And thoughtless swains the harvest reap,
Where our stern Fathers' ashes sleep.

But after years the tale shall tell,
In words of light revealed,
Who bravely fought—who nobly fell;
And many a well earned field,

Outspread beneath the western sun,
Shall live with ancient Marathon,—
And Trenton's fight, and Princeton's name,
Be linked with old Platea's fame.

But the surviving few who stand
A remnant weak and old—
Sole relics of that glorious band,
Whose hearts were hearts of gold—

Oh! honored be each silvery hair!
Each furrow trenched by toil and care!
And sacred each old bending form,
That braved oppression's battle storm!

LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEF.

The following is taken from the Pittsburgh Daily American, of March 24th. The account given in that paper, to which Mr. Darsie alludes, we presume was extracted from the American Pioneer. We give the correspondence partly to confirm and partly to correct what we before published, and partly for the sake of having the opportunity to say, that whatever of mistake there may be in the anecdote as published in the Pioneer, that mistake did not originate with Dr. Hildreth, as the line of Mr. Darsie might allow the reader to suppose.

We received the following letter from Mr. Darsie, with the enclosed, by this morning's mail, for which we are indebted to him many thanks.

Harrisburgh, March 21, 1842.

J. W. Biddle, Esq:

Dear Sir,—I enclose you a correction of the Logan anecdote as told by Dr. S. P. Hildreth, and published in your paper of the 17th inst. R. P. Maclay, Esq. is a member of the senate from Union county, and a son of the Samuel Maclay named in the anecdote. You may therefore depend upon his version being correct. You are at liberty to make any use of it you may see proper.

Yours, &c. GEO. DARSIE.

Senate Chamber,
March 21, 1842.

To George Darsie, Esq.,
Of the Senate of Pennsylvania.

Dear Sir,—Allow me to correct a few inaccuracies as to place and names, in the anecdote of Logan, the celebrated Mingo chief, as published in the Pittsburgh Daily American, of March 17th, 1842, to which you called my attention. The person surprised at the Spring now called the Big Spring, and about six miles west of Logan's Spring, was William Brown, the first actual settler in Kisacoquillas valley, and one of the associate judges of Mifflin county from its organization till his death, at the age of ninety-one or two, and not Samuel Maclay, as stated by Dr. Hildreth. I will give you the anecdote as I heard it related by judge Brown himself, while on a visit to my brother, who then owned and occupied the Big Spring farm.

"The first time I ever saw that spring," said the old gentleman, "my brother, James Reed, and myself, had wandered out of the valley, in search of land, and finding it very good, we were looking about for springs. About a mile from this, we started a bear, and separated to get a shot at him. I was traveling along, looking about on the rising ground for the bear, when I came suddenly upon the Spring, and being dry, and more rejoiced to find so fine a spring than to have killed a dozen bears, I set my rifle against a bush and rushed down the bank, and laid down to drink. Upon putting my head down, I saw reflected in the water, on the opposite side, the shadow

of a tall Indian; I sprang to my rifle, when the Indian gave a yell, whether for peace or war I was not just then sufficiently master of my faculties to determine; but upon my seizing my rifle, and facing him, he knocked up the pan of his gun, threw out the priming, and extended his open palm toward me in token of friendship. After putting down our guns, we again met at the spring, and shook hands. This was Logan, the best specimen of humanity I ever met with, either *white* or *red.* He could speak a little English, and told me there was another white hunter a little way down the stream, and offered to guide me to his camp. There I first met your father. We remained together in the valley a week looking for springs, and selecting lands; and laid the foundation of a friendship which never has had the slightest interruption.

"We visited Logan at his camp, at Logan's Spring, and your father and he shot at a mark for a dollar a shot; Logan lost four or five rounds, and acknowledged himself beaten. When we were about to leave him, he went into his hut, and brought out as many deer skins as he had lost dollars, and handed them to Mr. Maclay, who refused to take them, alledging that we had been his guests, and did not come to rob him; that the shooting had been only a trial of skill, and the bet merely nominal. Logan drew himself up with great dignity and said, "Me bet to make you shoot your best—me gentleman, and me take your dollar if me beat." So he was obliged to take the skins or affront our friend, whose nice sense of honor would not permit him to receive even a horn of powder in return.

"The next year," said the old gentleman, "I brought my wife up and camped under a big walnut tree, on the bank of Tea creek, until I had built a cabin near where the mill now stands, and have lived in the valley ever since. Poor Logan, (and the big tears coursed each other down his cheeks,) soon after went into the Alleghany, and I never saw him again." Yours,

R. P. MACLAY.

POST OFFICE FACILITIES.

Auditor's Office, Post Office Dep't., March 18, 1842.

Dear Sir,—In the third number of the American Pioneer, in referring to the "Act passed by the legislature of New York, in the year 1785, to grant to Isaac Van Wyck and others, an exclusive right of keeping stage wagons, on the east side of Hudson's river, between the cities of New York and Albany, for the term of two years," you say, "It is most likely the basis of the first staging done in the United States." In this belief you are incorrect.

The intercourse by stages, between those cities, was as much behind the times, then, as it now is by rail-roads. The country bordering on the Hudson is too rugged for early improvement.

You will see, by the continuation of the "Annals," that the stage between New York and Philadelphia was first run in 1756.

I will furnish you, at an early day, with a settlement of the first post office account, commencing in 1775 and ending in 1776.

Very respectfully yours,

G. Whitesey

Jno. S. Williams, Esqr.

ANNALS.—Continued.

The first stage between New York and Philadelphia, commenced running in 1756, and occupied three days.

Newspapers were carried by mail, free of charge, until the year 1758; when, by reason of their great increase, they were charged with postage at the rate of nine pence each year for fifty miles, and one shilling and six pence for one hundred miles.

In 1766 the whole population of the British colonies, including the Bermuda and Bahama islands, was estimated at one million seven hundred and forty thousand.

February 3rd, 1766, Dr. Benjamin Franklin was examined before the committee of the whole, in the British house of commons, in London, relative to the repeal of the American stamp act.

The following questions and answers, touching the post office establishment, may not be uninteresting.

"*Question.*—Are not you connected in the management of the post office in America?

Answer.—Yes: I am deputy postmaster general of North America.

Q.—Don't you think the distribution of stamp *by post*, to all the inhabitants, very practicable if there was no opposition?

A.—The posts go along the sea-coast; they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and, if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expense of postage amounting, in many cases, to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

Q.—Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

A.—I never was there.

Q.—Do you know whether there are any post roads on that island?

A.—I have heard that there are no roads at all, but that the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

Q.—Can you disperse the stamps by post in Canada?

A.—There is only a post between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore

they cannot get stamps per post. The *English colonies*, along the frontiers, are very thinly settled.

Q.—What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

A.—I suppose there may be about one hundred and sixty thousand.

Q.—How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

A.—About three hundred thousand, from sixteen to sixty years of age.

Q.—Do not letters often come into the post office, in America, directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Can any private person take up those letters and carry them as directed?

A. Yes: any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

Q.—But must he not pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A.—No.

Q.—Can the postmaster answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A.—Certainly he can demand nothing where he does no service.

Q.—Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place, will the postmaster deliver him the letter without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

A.—Yes: the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q.—Are not the ferrymen in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the post without pay?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is not this a tax on the ferryman?

A.—They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons traveling with the post.

Q.—Do they (the people of America) consider the post office as a tax, or as a regulator?

A.—Not as a tax, but as a regulator and conveniency; *every assembly* encouraged it and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage."

The first stage between Boston and New York commenced the 24th of June, 1772, to run once a fortnight, as a useful, new, and expensive undertaking; to start on the 13th and to arrive either to or from either of those places on the 25th of each month, making thirteen days of travel.

Doctor Franklin states, that during the first four years that the business was managed by him and his partner, the office became

upwards of nine hundred pounds in debt to them in consequence of the great improvements they had made; but it soon began to repay them; and before he "was displaced by a freak of ministers," which was on the 29th of January, 1774, they had brought it to yield three times as much clear revenue to the British crown as the post office of Ireland. He adds, "Since that impudent transaction, they have received from it not one farthing."

From the London Chronicle, for 1785.

GENERAL POST OFFICE, October 10, 1785.

Mr. Palmer having engaged to accomplish his plan for the conveyance of his Majesty's Mails to all parts of the kingdom as soon as possible, the letters for every part of Great Britain and Ireland, must, in future, be put into the Receiving Houses before FIVE o'clock in the evening, and into this office before SEVEN, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which have arisen to the Public from two deliveries in London on the same day, and sending out the mails at different hours on the same evening.

The letters are intended to be sent regularly from hence between the hours of Nine and Ten in the morning, so as to reach the most distant parts of the town by Twelve at noon.

It is necessary that all Newspapers should be put into this Office before Six o'Clock, otherwise they cannot be certain of an immediate conveyance. By command of the Postmaster-General.

ANTHONY TODD, *Secretary.*

The following are the Mail Coaches already established.

To Bath and Bristol, from the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane, and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.

To Norwich and Yarmouth, through Newmarket and Thetford, from the White-horse, Fetter-Lane.

To Norwich, through Colchester and Ipswich, from the same place.

To Nottingham and Leeds, from the Bull and Mouth, in Bull and Mouth street.

To Manchester, through Derby, from the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane.

To Liverpool, through Coventry and Litchfield, from the same place.

To Portsmouth, from the Angel, behind St. Clement's Church.

To Poole, from the Bell and Crown, Holborn; the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane; and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.

To Gloucester, from the Angel behind St. Clement's Church.

To Birmingham, from the Swan with two Necks, Lad-lane.

To Worcester and Ludlow, from the George and Blue Boar, Holborn, and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.

To Bath and Bristol, through Andover, Devizes, and Bradford, from the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane; and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.

To Shrewsbury, from the Bull and Mouth, Bull and Mouth-street.
To Cirencester, Tudbury, and Stroud, from the Bell Savage, Ludgate-hill; and Gloucester-Coffee house, Piccadilly.
To Windsor, from the Three Cups, Bread-street, and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.
To Caermarthen, through Gloucester, and by way of Swansea, from the Angel behind St. Clement's church, and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.
To Milford Haven, by way of Hereford, Brecknock, Caermarthen, and Haverfordwest, from the Angel behind St. Clement's church, and the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly.

As the plan is extended on to new roads, they will be advertised for one week as under:

This Day.

To HOLYHEAD,
through
Coventry,
Litchfield,
Stafford,
Stone,
Ouse,
Namptwich,
Torporly,
CHESTER,
Northop,
St. Asaph,
Conway,
Bangor,
Gwynd, to
Holyhead.

To PRESTON,
by way of
Liverpool and
Ormskirk.

To CARLISLE, through
Manchester,
Belton,
Charley,
Preston,
Garstang,
Lancaster,
Kendal,
Penrith, to
Carlisle.

And to CARLISLE
also through
Leeds,
High Harrowgate,
Rippon,
Leming-lane,
Caterick-bridge,
Greata-bridge,
Brough,
Appleby,
Penrith, to
Carlisle.

The Mail Coach to Chester and Holyhead, and the Mail Coach to Carlisle, by way of Manchester, from the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane.

The Mail Coach to Carlisle, by way of Leeds, from the Bull and Mouth, in Bull and Mouth street.

The above, although not exactly such matter as is intended for the Pioneer, is copied into it from the "London Chronicle for 1785." It is worth a place in the Pioneer as a piece of antiquity, and it is doubly worth it as tending to show the state of the mails in England, at that time, for the sake of contrast with our own, then and now. Did we not see it with our own eyes, we could scarcely credit the fact that the post office facilities in England, at that late day, were, perhaps, behind what they were then in America, and behind what they are now in Iowa or Wisconsin.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY FATHERS.

Who can look upon, or even think of this ever to be remembered race of men, now nearly extinct, without feeling veneration approaching to reverence? It requires nothing further than a proper knowledge of what they did for us, the length, breadth and height of the benefits which their blood, their nerves and their treasure purchased for us, and a little reflection on the subject, to inspire these feelings. Alas! they are nearly removed from among us! Death, that great leveler of all conditions and all distinctions, will soon have done for them all, as he has again and again done for kings, princes, pontiffs, prelates and beggars. It will soon be said, not that "My father saw general Washington, Benjamin Franklin or John Hancock," but "My father or grandfather actually saw and conversed with one who fought in the war of the revolution!" or, "My father or grandfather saw one who was acquainted with general Washington," &c. Thus, as distance of time increases, will those reminiscences become more valuable; and it is our duty to treat like fathers, and more than fathers, every remnant of that band of worthies to whom we owe so much.

It is an every day's remark, that most of the old revolutionary soldiers that are left, are more or less of immoral and unsocial habits. So much the greater debt we owe them. It will be remembered that the cotemporaries of Washington, Franklin, &c. have *all* passed away. Not one remains. We mean those who had arrived at middle age, at the time of the revolutionary war. All who were then of fixed habits are gone, and scarce one, if one, remains who went into that war over thirty years of age! The remnant we have, were young men and boys in that struggle—their habits yet to fix, and their very manhood to make. A boy of twenty then, exposed to all the evil influences of a soldier's life, would now be a father of eighty-six, and it is almost a miracle that they are as respectable as they are. In that struggle they not only bared their breasts to the piercing bullets and the keen bayonets, but robbed themselves of all opportunity of acquiring that education and those habits which alone would make the unreflecting reverence them while alive, and revere them when dead. Is not, then, our debt of gratitude the greater, if they sacrificed not only safety and ease, but morals too?

If we cannot approve of all the habits of some of those fathers, can we not pity them, yea, love them, in pity for their fathers and mothers, who from love of their country sat up night after night, and toiled day after day, to fit out their perhaps only son, not to a boarding school, not to take a course of study with a professional man, not to take a tour to store his mind with intellectual lore, not even to serve an apprenticeship for his future advantage, but to the war, there to win, perhaps with his life, but surely with the loss of all the benefits of education—what? win what? Freedom for us, that *we* might do for our sons what they could not do for theirs. See the pious mother parting with her son! see her tears! hear her wailings! appreciate her fore-

bodings of a death in battle, and if not that, a probability of what might be even worse, a return with habits of idleness and its accompaniment, vice, worse than death itself!! Under these reflections, if for no other reason, we cannot but make as respectable and beloved as possible, every remnant of that band of invincibles; and if they do not square with our ideas of aged gentlemen, let us think that for our sakes they were deprived of almost every possible chance of becoming such.

Perhaps we have never yet taken time to think how much they won for us. Peradventure we have been so much engaged about our present welfare, so enamored of show and the polish of society, as not once to have stopped to inquire into the amount of the debt we owe to them. We perhaps have heard of the destruction of tea at Boston, in 1774, as the first act of the revolution, and that that was a mere difference of three pence per pound, a mere trifle; and viewing all the subsequent events as springing from that, we may be inclined to set a small value on the whole course of consequent events.

Let us however reflect for a moment. The three pence imposition which led to that measure was but the entering wedge, a mere beginning of a series of tyrannical measures which would have been augmented and increased, and always kept as oppressive as the people would bear; and they would at last have borne any amount of degradation, according as their rulers would have been able to scathe the spirits of the oppressed, and rendered them less and less capable of seeing or asserting their own rights.

The crown of England by right of discovery claimed the land, but set no definite value upon it. After she failed to find virgin gold as she once expected and sought, she was ready to patent it to those who would reclaim it. It was inhabited by savages, covered with forests of wood, of briars and thorns, in which dwelt fierce animals and reptiles of every kind. To the success of clearing this ground, and planting civilization, many lives and much treasure had been devoted. Many attempts had failed. The country was considered in itself worthless. It became an asylum to those who preferred death to religious intolerance, and it became also the alternative of those who preferred death in a foreign land by starvation, by the savages or wild beasts, to the action of the laws of their native land, to the degradation of the mind and of the soul to which the tender mercies of their own government subjected them, as shown in the following advertisement. How cruel, how unjust, how tyrannical then that government, just so soon as the country had been so opened as to afford a few, and but very few of the benefits of civilization, for their rulers thus to exact a support from these pioneers, to that very tyranny they had so lately suffered all but martyrdom to get rid of!

The following advertisement is taken by us from the [English] *Annual Register for* 1759, page 169. It will give a little, and but little insight into that system of surveillance, to get clear of which our great grandfathers left their native land, and dared the dangers of the deep, underwent all the hardships of remote colonists, and by labor, sweat and blood reclaimed the soil, and to

prevent which from following them, our fathers bared their bosoms, and drank deep of the cup of affliction. Who is there, that has in his soul one spark of manly republican fire, in whose heart the love of freedom is not quite extinct and killed by tyranny, but would prefer banishment to an island of the sea, yea, death itself in savage warfare, to the soul killing ignominy to which William Margets submitted in exciting "the lenity of the prosecutor" by "earnest solicitation of himself and his friends." Here is another affair of three pence, to which we would do well to look in estimating the worth of *our revolutionary fathers'* struggles for us.

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas I, William Margets, the younger, was, at the last assizes for the county of Cambridge, convicted upon an indictment for an attempt to raise the price of corn in Ely market, upon the 24th day of September, 1757, by offering the sum of six shillings a bushel for wheat, for which no more than five shillings and nine pence was demanded: and whereas, on the earnest solicitation and request of myself and friends, the prosecutor has been prevailed upon to forbear any further prosecution against me on my submitting to make the following satisfaction, viz. upon my paying the sum of fifty pounds to the poor inhabitants of the town of Ely, to be distributed by the ministers and churchwardens of the several parishes in the said town of Ely; and the further sum of fifty pounds to the poor inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, to be distributed by the ministers and churchwardens of the several parishes in the said town; and the full costs of the prosecution; and upon my reading this acknowledgment of my offence publicly, and with a loud voice, in the presence of a magistrate, constable, or other peace officer of the said town of Ely, at the market place there, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, on a public market day, and likewise subscribing and publishing the same in three of the evening papers printed at London, and in the Cambridge journal, on four different days, and I have accordingly paid the said two sums of fifty pounds and costs. And do hereby confess myself to have been guilty of the said offence, and testify my sincere and hearty sorrow in having committed a crime, which, in its consequences, tended so much to increase the distress of the poor in the late calamitous scarcity. And I do hereby most humbly acknowledge the lenity of the prosecutor, and beg pardon of the public in general, and of the town of Ely in particular.

This paper was read by me at the public market-place at Ely, in the presence of Thomas Aungier, gentleman, chief constable, on the 2d day of June, 1759, being a public market day there, and is now, as a further proof of the just sense I have of the heinousness of my crime, subscribed and published by me, WM. MARGETS.

Witness, JAMES DAY,
Under Sheriff of Cambridgeshire."

Our blood almost boils when we contemplate the hollow hearted policy of that government, which could thus gull their poor into a confidence in their mock humanity, while by her corn laws she enables her nobility to keep the

price of corn so high, that the incessant labor of the poor, will just keep them from starvation; whose system takes the young men to war and commerce, and leaves the old men, women and children to plant and reap the corn, which a privileged nobility may with horn and hounds ride over, tread down, and with impunity destroy; one tenth of which goes to support a tyrannical church, and all the rest, save a threadbare subsistence, to feed and pamper men too high for those laws to reach which chastised and degraded William Margets! It was to prevent this kind of *three pence* exactions from entering this blessed land, that our fathers fought, bled and died. Let us revere their memories, venerate the remnant, and love better the institutions they left us. But turning from the harsh feelings which the contemplation of such abuses engender, we will select for our readers some verses from a newspaper, credited to J. E. Dow.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES.

Oh, where are they—those iron men,
Who braved the battle-storm of fire,
When war's wild halo filled the glen,
And lit each village humble spire;
While cannon shouts the country fill,
When hill sent back the sound to hill?

Oh, where are they, whose manly breasts
Beat back the pride of England's might,
Whose stalwart arms laid low the crests
Of many an old and valiant knight;
When evening came with murderous flame,
And liberty was but a name?

I see them, in the distance, form
Like spectres on the misty shore!
Before them rolls the distant storm,
And hills send forth their rills of gore;
Around them Death, with lightning breath,
Is twining an immortal wreath.

They conquer!—God of glory thanks!—
They conquer! Freedom's banner waves
Above Oppression's broken ranks,
And withers o'er her children's graves;
And loud and long the pealing song
Of jubilee is borne along.

'Tis evening, and December's sun,
Goes swiftly down behind the wave:
And there I see a gray-haired one,
A special courier to the grave;
He looks around on vale and mound,
Then falls upon his battle-ground.

Beneath him rests the hallowed earth,
Now changed like him, and still and cold;
The blood that gave young freedom birth,
No longer warms the warrior old;
He waves his hand with stern command,
Then dies, the last of glory's band.

THE MARIETTA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

We have this moment, (April 29th, 1842,) received the following circular, which is the first intimation we received of the existence of the Marietta Historical Society. We cordially reciprocate their wishes of success. We speak for the Logan Historical Society, and the citizens of this valley generally, when we say that the sons and descendants of old Virginia can never act a mean or niggardly part towards their more northerly brethren, but will extend to them a hand of fraternal assistance. They ask a like favor of them, with the fullest confidence that the sons of the pilgrims will acquit themselves to the credit of their parentage.

MARIETTA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Ephraim Cutler, President.
Arius Nye, Vice President.
Caleb Emerson, Corresponding Secretary.
Arius S. Nye, Recording Secretary.
William R. Putnam, John Mills, A. T. Nye, Curators.

It is not a little singular that the known and acknowledged importance of history has heretofore induced so little effort for its accuracy. The classification of history as a branch of fictitious literature, would, alas for it! be not altogether false. We have recent indications of better things to come. The formation of historical societies, local as well as general, is very encouraging. The Marietta Historical Association aims to establish a library, cabinet, and repository worthy of the oldest settlement of Ohio. The members hope their zeal may prove not incommensurate with their aims. But the efficiency of the institution must depend much on the aid of others.

That aid is invoked, in the furnishing of books, pamphlets, newspapers, memoirs, and manuscripts, illustrative of western history, particularly of Ohio, and specially of earlier settlements. The donation of books is asked as a contribution for public utility. Any book, publication, record or manuscript will be acceptable. The association hopes to do its share in the preparation for western history; and respectfully suggests the formation, every where, of like associations, holding friendly correspondence and rendering mutual aid.

Ephraim Cutler, *President*,
Caleb Emerson, *Corresponding Secretary.*

Marietta, Nov. 24, 1841.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Although your projects, from their scope, interfere somewhat with ours, we wish you good success. Our scheme of a historical association had been in agitation nearly three years before we heard of yours. It was intended to have been carried into effect in the beginning of last year, but was delayed by circumstances not important to be named at this time. Meanwhile you had the good fortune to enlist Dr. Hildreth, who is himself a host, and who, though

as we trust not unfriendly, has preferred to embark with you. But there is no need of any marring of harmony. Dr. Hildreth, indeed, has been very friendly to the researches of C. Emerson. We have contemplated a publication, but do not expect to compete much with yours. Should it be your pleasure to insert our circular in the Pioneer, we shall take it as a particular favor.

We are, sir, very respectfully,

EPHRAIM CUTLER,

Marietta, April 16, 1842. CALEB EMERSON.

[Communicated for the American Pioneer.]

SANDUSKY.

The name, Sandusky, is in such general use in our section of the state, that it has become more extensively known, perhaps, than any other one in the Union. The associations connected with it, ever since our state has been known to the whites, with its conquest and settlement, are such as to make any thing concerning it interesting. Thinking that the origin of the name is not known to you, I send it for the Pioneer, if this sketch should fall in with the design of your paper. At the time the French were establishing their line of trading posts on the Wabash and Maumee rivers, nearly one hundred years since, connecting their operations on the Ohio with their settlements at Detroit, a Polish trader, by the name of Sandusky, or more properly spelt, *Sanduski*, established himself near the present site of Lower Sandusky, at the foot of the rapids of the river. His operations in trading for furs, &c. with Indians, being entirely confined to the river and bay, they soon became known to Europeans, and afterwards to the Indians, as Sanduski's river and bay. Sanduski, quarreling with the Indians, was forced to quit the country for the settlements beyond the Ohio for safety. The Indians, some time after, followed and killed him in Virginia. So far as I can learn, there are but two of the name in this country, his grandsons. One lives in Kentucky, the other a few miles from Danville, Vermilion county, Illinois. The latter, from whom the above particulars was obtained, might give much interesting and useful matter respecting the first acquaintance with this region and the settlement of the West in general.

Jacob L. Greene

Tiffin, Ohio, February 28, 1842.

We copy the following from the "London Chronicle for October, 1785," first, to show the time then required by the packets to cross the Atlantic, and chiefly to show the forebodings that then prevailed, that the experiment of a republican government would fail. Thanks to the Giver of all good, it has not yet quite failed, and we trust never will; but that the best governments, like other things, will be subject to mutations and changes that will, at times, seem near destruction, we have good reason to expect.

"Yesterday arrived a mail from New York, brought to Falmouth by the Prince William Henry packet in twenty-eight days.

"The Americans are now making heavy complaints to Congress, that their carrying trade is annihilated by the British navigation act; and that the encouragement given by the British Parliament to the fisheries has proved greatly prejudicial to that of the States. In short, they declare, if means of retaliation are not adopted, the commerce, wealth, and power of America, and even the union itself, is likely to fall."

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

1565. Ribault, with fresh supplies and men arrived at the Huguenots' colony, in Florida.

Pedro Melendez de Aviles sailed from Spain to destroy the colony, and arrived on St. Augustine's day at the bay to which he gave that name.

1567. Dominie de Gourgues raises means and men to avenge the destruction of the Huguenots' colony, in Florida, and repairs thither.

1568. He took one fort, hanged the prisoners, and returned to Europe; leaving the Spaniards in full possession of Florida.

1576. Martin Forbsher makes a voyage from England to the coast of Labrador. Carried a stone back to England which was said to contain gold.

1577. Fired with the thirst for gold, a fleet is fitted out from England in search for it. Carried nothing back but loads of useless earth thought to contain it.

1578. Another fleet fitted out in the same fruitless search, and much loss and difficulty attended it.

Fisheries of Newfoundland become prosperous, and regular voyages for trading with the natives commence about this time, and with them a spirit of enterprise for settling the new country.

1579. Francis Drake commenced his voyages of discovery. He sailed norhtwardly along the western coast of America to the forty-third degree.

Humphrey Gilbert made an unsuccessful attempt at a voyage of discovery.



CHILLICOTHE COURTHOUSE, ETC. IN 1801.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. JUNE, 1842. NO. VI.

CHILLICOTHE COURT-HOUSE, BARRACKS, ETC.

[See Frontispiece.]

Before giving a description of the subjects of the drawing, it will be proper to give a brief outline view of the most prominent objects connected with them.

The Scioto river rises in the northern part of the state by interlocking with the Sandusky and Great Miami, and after pursuing very nearly a south course, for about two hundred miles, debouches into the Ohio at Portsmouth. It traverses three characters of country,—first, the prairie district; secondly, the level woodland district, of extraordinary fertility; and lastly, the mineral or mountainous district. The last may be said to commence in the vicinity of Chillicothe and reach to the Ohio, producing scenery which for beauty is seldom equaled. This mountainous land is for the most part considered sterile, which character it acquires only in contrast with lands of extraordinary fertility with which the water-courses are skirted, and of which the level parts of Ohio are composed.

The Scioto, particularly the lower part, seems not to be a branch of the Ohio, but one of the branches of the Mississippi or Missouri, transplanted here in direct contrast with their iron-bound shores and the sandy bed of the beautiful Ohio. The lower district of the Scioto occupies a level plain of bottom land from one and a half to three miles in width, which has an extraordinary depth and fertility of soil. In this the river, Mississippi like, makes constant ravages, tearing down the soil, trees, &c. on one side, and forming bars of sand and gravel on the other, which becomes soil, and fully compensates for the destruction on the opposite side, except that the river seems to pay little respect as to the owners of the property it diminishes or whose it increases. Being the boundary between the congress and Virginia military districts of Ohio, different owners occupy the opposite sides of this uncommonly rich bottom land. The current of the Scioto is extremely rapid and its waters clear; its bed composed of good limestone, gravel and sand. Its course abounds in numerous islands of different sizes and of great value. At the city of Chillicothe it takes one of those sweeps, which is not uncommon in its course, in which it crosses nearly the whole width of the bottom land from west to east. Chillicothe is, or rather was, situated at the apex of the bend, and on the south or right shore below the bend. The river, in one of those freaks natural to itself, the Mississippi, &c., cut across the bend, near

the lower end of the city, leaving an island of forty acres, and of great beauty, opposite to the city. The old bed is fast filling, so that the island, in low and ordinary stages of water, is joined to the main land. This river was navigated by flat boats, at certain times, with great hazard before the construction of the Ohio canal, which occupies its margin from Columbus to Portsmouth, a distance, by the canal, of about one hundred miles, but by the road, eighty-nine—forty-four to Chillicothe, and thence forty-five to Portsmouth. From Columbus to Portsmouth, along the Scioto, the cast of society is Virginian.

Olomon Sepung, or Paint creek, on the west, interlocks with the Little Miami, and after traversing districts of country of great extremes of character, debouches into the Scioto about three miles, on a straight line, below Chillicothe. In its course among the hills of the rough district, it furnishes bottom land which cannot be exceeded in fertility or beauty, but like the Scioto, of which it is a very correct likeness, its bed is gravelly and its banks subject to ravages from its great current.

Where Paint creek emerges from the hills, it approaches within a mile of the Scioto, and upon this isthmus, not unlike that between the Delaware and Schuylkill, at Philadelphia, is situated the city of Chillicothe, which was laid out by general Nathaniel Massie, in 1796. The beauty of site and scenery around this city can scarce be excelled. The extended level, the fertile plains, the elevated but distant mountain-peaks, together with the river, Paint creek, and Ohio canal, passing through the heart of the town, with various turnpikes to different parts, render Chillicothe as desirable a place of residence as any city of equal facilities (which, by the by, are neither mean nor scarce) in the Union. The streets are beautifully level, but well drained; they are comfortably spacious, and at right angles, corresponding very nearly with the cardinal points of the compass. The squares are about eight hundred by four hundred feet, crossed in both directions by convenient alleys. The plain is elevated say twenty-five to thirty feet higher than the low bottoms, which are subject to inundation. At about this depth excellent water is every where found.

The Ohio canal, in the immediate vicinity of the city, affords an immense water power not yet occupied. The Hydraulic Canal Company, at an expense of seventy thousand dollars, have constructed four and a half miles of canal on Paint creek, which is capable of supplying from two to four thousand cubic feet of water per minute, through a fall of thirty-seven feet, for hydraulic purposes at the Paint side of the city. One thousand feet of this water only is at present occupied, through about half the fall. From the company's basin there is a branch into the Ohio canal. In the city are two locks on the Ohio canal, and in its vicinity many more; the power at four of which is occupied. In the city and its vicinity are twenty-five pairs of flouring millstones, which constitutes by far the largest amount of manufactures here. No steam-engine puffs its music here.

The valleys of the Scioto and of Paint creek were great favorites in ancient times, if we may judge by the numerous works with which they abound, of the origin, uses, and builders of which, no account seems to be had. Those valleys were favorites of the aborigines also, in each of which they built their *Che-le-co-the*, which is understood to be an Indian name, signifying town or city, and from which the name of our city is derived, although no Indian town of its name stood on the same ground. In the plat of Chillicothe stood a very conspicuous mound, represented in the drawing, and the thousands of travelers who remember the delicious viands of which they have partaken at the table of colonel John Madeira, whose hotel has long been hard to equal, and still harder to beat, will not forget that they then occupied the precise place of one of those works of great labor and antiquity. Four or five of these still stand, monuments of the industry of some extinct race of men, within view of this city. Their size is about three hundred and seventy-five feet around the base, one hundred and fifty feet from base to base over the apex, and twenty-five feet in height. No one who stands at a little distance from them, would have any conception of the great size of these piles of earth, which rise out of the plain, without any perceivable indentation in the surface, to indicate from whence the materials were taken. It is also unsettled as to the purposes for which they were erected, and all the theories we have heard respecting their origin and use, seem to lack that proof which is necessary to raise them much above conjecture.

In the foreground of the drawing is represented the mound, which is said to have been much like those now standing; but in respect to the height of the court-house, represented on the left, the mound is drawn much lower than its true proportion. It is represented more as it would appear in its native solitude, but measure the height and that of a large building, and the deception which attends our ocular comparisons between the height of these mounds and our large buildings will evidently appear.

The drawing purports to give a view of things as they were forty years ago, as, upon looking westwardly, instead of houses and gardens, there were stumps and trees to be seen. It is but right to advertise the reader, that the fore ground represents the mound and the court-house; in the middle ground is seen the barracks; and in the back ground the stone residence of the late governor Tiffin, built in 1800, and probably the first dwelling not built of wood in the territory. In the rear of this is seen the beautiful eminence which overlooks our city, rising more than one hundred and fifty feet perpendicularly above the plain we inhabit. It is of slaty formation to the height of about one hundred and twenty-five feet, above are fine quarries of freestone. Taking the hill and the court-house as they are represented, the mound, the barracks, and governor Tiffin's house are all represented four hundred feet too far south. In their proper position, in respect to the court-house and hill, they would be beyond the bounds of the drawing to the right.

To the Hon. William Creighton, who was one of the first settlers of Chillicothe, and has held some of the most important offices in the state, and

who, as attorney, brought the first suit in Ross county, the editor is indebted for the following description of the court-house and barracks.

In 1800, the seat of government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, was established at Chillicothe, Ross county, and the sessions of the territorial legislature, in that and the year 1801, were holden in the small house designated on the plate as standing nearly a west course from the larger house. The house was situated on the corner of Second and Walnut streets; extended along the former of those streets thirty-six, and the latter twenty-four feet; was two stories high; built of hewed logs; covered with shingles, and was erected by Mr. Bazil Abrams in 1798. To the main building, extending along Walnut street towards the Scioto river, was attached a hewed log building about twenty-four feet long and eighteen feet wide, of the same height, and covered in like manner with the main building; the wing was weatherboarded; board partitions were put up in the first and second stories of the wing so as to form two rooms of about sixteen feet square, one above and one below, leaving passages between them and the main building about eight feet wide. The door from without leading into the passage opened on Walnut street; at the west end of the passage a narrow flight of winding steps led to the upper story, and on each side of the passages above and below were doors by which an entrance might be had to the wing and main building. To the main building there were two doors exclusive of those named, one of which opened on Second, and the other on Walnut street. In the main building there were ten, and in the wing five windows of twelve lights in each, eight by ten. In the main building the windows were arranged in the lower story, one on the north, one on the east, and two on the south; and in the second story, one on the north, three on the south, and two on the east; and in the wing in the lower story, one on the west, and one on the east; and in the upper story, one on the west, and two on the east.

In the lower room of the wing, colonel Thomas Gibson, then auditor of public accounts for the territory, kept his office, and the upper room was tenanted by a small family. The upper story of the main building was a place of resort for gamblers, and more especially those who were fond of playing billiards. A billiard table was kept in that room by the owner of the house; and so passionately fond was Mr. Abrams of play, that in the summer of 1801, in a siege of twenty-four hours continuous play, he lost all his money, and bet his house, which he also lost. He executed a deed to the winner, and then cleared out to the south, from whence he never returned.

The lower room of the main building was occupied in a manner altogether different from the upper. In it the sages of the territorial legislature assembled for the purpose of enacting such laws as in their judgment were best calculated to promote the interest of the infant republic. In it, the sages of the law met to administer justice to the various classes of suitors, without denial or delay. In it, the heralds of the cross of different denominations, more especially the Presbyterians and Methodists, from time to time proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, to those who assembled there in order to worship and adore a triune God. And in it many of the old and young of both sexes often assembled to tune their voices to melody and harmony, to prepare themselves more appropriately to join either in the solemn services of the sanctuary, or in the innocent social circles of the town. During the last war, that house was used as a recruiting rendezvous and barracks for the United States' troops, since which period it has been called the "Old Barracks," and in 1840, it was pulled down, the logs were then sound, and the roof on the south side, which was made of blue ash shingles, and had been on forty-two years, was sound and without a leak. Our apology for being so tediously minute in our description of this remarkable old house, identified with the early history of the town, is, that it has been appropriated to more and various uses perhaps than any house in the state.

The large building designated on the plate is a pretty correct representation of the east and north sides of the "old state house" situated on a square at the junction of Paint and Main streets; the building is of stone, two stories high, with a cupola and bell. This building was commenced in 1800, and completed in 1801 for the accommodation of the legislature and courts, at the expense of the county. It is believed that it was the first public edifice of stone built in the northwestern territory. The stone work and plastery was done by major William Rutledge, a soldier of the revolutionary war; and the carpenter and house joiner work by William Guthrie. The territorial legislature held their session in this house for the first time in 1801. The convention that formed the constitution of Ohio, was held in this house; the session commenced on the first Monday of November, 1802. In the month of April, 1803, the first state legislature under the constitution met in the same house, and organized the government; it continued to be occupied as a legislative hall during the continuance of the seat of government at Chillicothe; the courts have been held in it since its erection. Although something the worse of wear, the edifice still stands firm.

The mound represented in the plate stood principally on the east side of Paint street, between Second and Water streets; the base of the mound extended into Paint street. It was removed many years since, and the ground is now occupied in part by the dining room of colonel Madeira's hotel, and the residue by buildings. North of the hotel, when the town was first laid out, and for a considerable time thereafter, the mound was covered with large forest trees; the removal of the mound, and the space it occupied being now covered with buildings, it cannot be described with mathematical precision.

The editor has the high satisfaction of stating that he has been a regular correspondent of Mr. Sharp's for several years, and knows him to be an able writer, a valuable citizen, a good contributor, and one whose manuscripts will scarce need a mark to fit it for the hands of a compositor. We are allowed to hope for much valuable matter from him.

Warren County, Mo., April 23d. 1842.

As your wish seems to be to correct history, I will here mention two small mistakes which I find in the Pioneer, although they are not of much consequence. The one is in No. 1, page 14, Innes' letter—"The express brought with him a war club, and note which was left tied to it, at the house of one *Robertson*, whose family were cut off," &c. It was at the house of one *Roberts*. This happened within about twelve miles of my father's house, which in the frontier settlements, in that early day, was considered as in the neighborhood. I was then twelve years of age, and have a perfect recollection of the whole transaction. The other is in No. 3, page 95—"Isaac Shelby, afterwards governor of Kentucky, commanded a company in this battle." The captain Shelby who fought so bravely in that battle, was Ivan Shelby, the governor's father. The governor gathered his laurels principally in the south, in the war of the revolution, particularly in the celebrated battle of King's Mountain; my two elder brothers and myself fought with him in that memorable battle, in which the whole British army were killed and taken. At the time of lord Dunmore's campaign, the Shelby family lived near neighbors to my father's, and for many years after; indeed as long as the ancient colonel Shelby lived. I will continue my endeavors to get subscribers to the Pioneer. Yours truly.

Benj. Sharp

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

EARLY INCIDENTS OF BUFFALO.

The following letter from our esteemed correspondent, is inserted without apology, being introductory of an ably written series of eight numbers or essays, just of the character desirable for the American Pioneer. They were written for the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, but now communicated for the Pioneer. Our friend's letter is published also as a just tribute to the worth of the able and industrious writer of the numbers, which tell how cities are built, and the industry and enterprise necessary to give one the start. How different this scene from the glance of the beautiful eyes, which gave the preference and start to Cincinnati, and which was the star of her destiny. (See American Pioneer, page 100.) We anxiously hope for the kind attentions of judge Wilkeson to the pages of the Pioneer.

Auditor's Office, Post Office Dep't., April 5, 1842.

Dear Sir,—I send to you, eight numbers of the "Early Incidents of Buffalo—Buffalo harbor;" for the American Pioneer, if their publication is within the range prescribed for your action.

They were written by Samuel Wilkeson, for many years, first judge of Erie county, New York,—senator in the legislature, and more recently, general agent of the American Colonization Society.

He was born in the western parts of Pennsylvania; knows much of its history; and I fondly hope, he will enrich the American Pioneer with many a backwoods incident.

Few men possess the like strength of intellect, and discrimination of mind; and if the numbers shall interest you, as they have me, you will most cheerfully perpetuate the "early incidents," so graphically described in your valuable work.

Judge Wilkeson is the person who called on Mr. Brown, as referred to in the sixth number: and if he had been less prompt and decided, in contracting with Mr. Brown for building the steam-boat at Buffalo, thereby defeating the contemplated contract at Black Rock, it is doubtful whether Buffalo would now be more than a common village. Without some extraordinary stimulating motive, the work of the preceding year would not have been resumed as early in the spring, as it was, under the guaranty to have a free passage for the new boat; the ice and the disasters that befel the pier, would have removed every vestige of the harbor, if the workmen had not been in place at the time. In fact, it required the indomitable perseverance, the unyielding and untiring energy of judge Wilkeson, to save the work from total destruction.

Buffalo owes much to him, and the country at large is his debtor.

If you are supplied with other matter, permit me to suggest to you, to publish these numbers, in as many consecutive numbers of the Pioneer. He will extend the number hereafter, and you may expect to hear from him, on border incidents.

Most sincerely yours,

G. Whittlesey

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

EARLY INCIDENTS OF BUFFALO—BUFFALO HARBOR.

NUMBER I.

The war which had swept over our frontier, had impoverished the inhabitants of the little place that has since grown into the City of the Lakes. Their property had been destroyed—they were embarrassed by debts contracted in rebuilding their houses which had been burned by the enemy—they were without capital to prosecute to advantage mechanical or mercantile employments—without a harbor, or any means of participating in the lake trade, and were suffering, with the country at large, all the evils of a deranged currency. In the midst of these accumulated embarrassments, the construction of the Erie canal was begun, and promised help. However distant might be the time of its completion, Buffalo was to be its terminating point; and when the canal was completed, our village would become a city. But no craft larger than a canoe could enter Buffalo creek. All forwarding business was done at Black Rock, and the three or four small vessels that were owned in Buffalo, received and discharged their cargoes at that place. A harbor was then indispensably necessary at the terminus of the canal; and unless one could be constructed at Buffalo before the western section of the canal was located, it might terminate at Black Rock. This was the more to be apprehended, as an opinion prevailed, that harbors could not be made on the lakes, at the mouths of the rivers. But a harbor we were resolved to have. Application was accordingly made to the legislature for a survey of the creek, and an act was passed on the 10th of April, 1818, authorizing the survey, and directing the supervisors of the county of Niagara to pay three dollars a day to the surveyor, and to assess the amount upon the county. The survey was made by the present Hon. William Peacock, during the summer of that year, gratuitously. Then came the important question, where

to get the money to build this harbor? At that day no one thought of looking to congress for appropriations, and there was no encouragement to apply to the legislature of the state. The citizens could not raise the means, however willing they might have been. A pub lic meeting was called, and an agent (the Hon. Charles Townsend) was appointed to proceed to Albany and obtain a loan. Jonas Harrison, Ebenezer Walden, H. B. Potter, J. G. Camp, O. Forward, A. H. Tracy, E. Johnson, E. F. Norton and Charles Townsend, were the applicants. Judge Townsend, after a protracted effort, succeeded, and an act was passed, April 17th, 1819, authorizing a loan to the above mentioned persons and their associates, of twelve thousand dollars, for twelve years, to be secured on bond and mortgage to double that amount, and applied to the construction of a harbor, which the state had reserved the right to take when completed, and to cancel the securities. The year 1819 was one of general financial embarrassment, and no where was the pressure or want of money more sensibly felt than in the lake country. It had no market, and its produce was of little value. Some of the associates became embarrassed and others discouraged. The summer passed away, and finally all refused to execute the required securities, except judge Townsend and judge Forward. Thus matters stood in December, 1819. Unless the condition of the loan should be complied with, the appropriation would be lost, and another might not easily be obtained; for the project of a harbor at Black Rock, and the termination of the canal at that place, was advocated by influential men, and the practicability of making a harbor at the mouth of Buffalo creek was seriously questioned. At this crisis, judge Wilkeson, who had declined being on the original company, came forward, and with Messrs. Townsend and Forward, agreed to make the necessary security. This was perfected during the winter of 1820—each individual giving his several bond and mortgage, for eight thousand dollars. The money thus loaned was received in the spring. By an arrangement between the parties, it was to be disbursed by judge Townsend. An experienced harbor-builder was to be obtained to superintend the work. One was engaged who had acquired reputation in improving the navigation of some river down east. He was to receive fifty dollars per month. Under his advice a contract was made for one hundred cords of flint stone from the Plains, at five dollars per cord, and four hundred hemlock piles, from twenty to thirty-six feet long, at thirty-one cents each. While the stone and piles were being delivered, the superintendent, with several carpenters, was employed in building a pile-driving machine and scow. An agent was dispatched

to the nearest furnace (which was in Portage county, Ohio,) to provide the hammer and machinery.

Mr. Townsend with much solicitude continued to watch the movements of the superintendent for a few weeks, making himself fully acquainted with his plans and management. He became satisfied that the superintendent, if not incompetent, was not such an economist as our limited means required, and that if we retained him, the money would be spent without getting a harbor. The judge was decided, that it was better to abandon the work than to pursue it under the then existing arrangements. His associates concurring, the superintendent was discharged—but no substitute could be obtained. West Point engineers were scarce at that time, and if one could have been found, twelve thousand dollars would have been but a small sum in his hands. The situation of the company was embarrassing. Private property had been mortgaged to raise the money—nearly a thousand of it had been spent, in preparations to commence a work that neither of the associates knew how to execute—nor could any one be found, experienced in managing men, who would undertake the superintendence.

Mr. Townsend was an invalid and consequently unable to perform the duty. Mr. Forward was wanting in the practical experience that was necessary. Mr. Wilkeson had never seen a harbor, and was engaged in business that required his unremitted attention. But rather than the effort should be abandoned, he finally consented to undertake the superintendence, and proceeded immediately to mark out a spot for the erection of a shanty on the beach, between the creek and the lake—hired a few laborers—gave the necessary orders for lumber, cooking utensils and provisions. The boarding house and sleeping room were completed that same day.

NUMBER II.

Having abandoned his own private business, Mr. Wilkeson called his men out to work the next morning by daylight—without suitable tools, without boats, teams or scows. Neither the plan of the work nor its precise location were settled. But the harbor was commenced.

Two plans had been proposed for the work: one by driving parallel lines of piles, and filling up the intermediate space with brush and stone,—and the other by a pier of hewn timber, filled with stone. The latter plan was adopted, and the location of the pier having been settled, the number of laborers was increased, and contracts immediately made for suitable timber and stone, to be delivered as fast as they might be required. In the meantime the timber intended

for piles, was used in the construction of cribs, three of which were put down the first day.

The first two days after commencing the work, the lake was calm; but the succeeding night a heavy swell set in, the waves acting on the outside of the cribs, forced the sand and gravel from under them, sinking the ends of some, the sides of others, and throwing them out of line—the whole presenting the most discouraging appearance. Fortunately a little brush had been accidentally thrown on the windward side of one of the piers, which became covered with sand, and preserved this pier from the fate of the others. Profiting by this discovery, every crib subsequently put down was placed on a thick bed of brush, extending several feet to the windward of it. But other unforeseen difficulties were soon experienced. The cribs could be put down only when the lake was perfectly smooth. However fine the weather, the swell raised by an ordinary sailing breeze, suspended the work in the water. To obviate this difficulty, the cribs, (which after the first week were formed of large square timber,) were put up and completed on shore. The timbers were secured by ties six feet apart, made to fit so tight as to require to be driven home with a sledge, and were bored with a two inch auger ready for the trunnels, which were two feet long, and made of the best oak or hickory. The timbers were marked and numbered, so that when required for use, they could be taken apart, floated out to their place, and put together in an hour, even in ten feet of water, and secured with stone the same day.

The manner of constructing the pier is thus particularly described, as it so effectually secured the timbers together, that when the west end of the pier was undermined by the high water of the creek and turned over, so that the side became the top, not a stick was separated. After the prevalence of a west wind for several days, the water became smooth, but it rained severely and the workmen justly claimed exemption from labor. To be interrupted by swells in fair weather, and by the rain when the lake was smooth, would never answer. Every day's experience admonished the company of the necessity of economizing their means, and it was already feared that the fund provided would prove insufficient for the object to be accomplished. A new contract was, therefore, made with the workmen, by which their wages were raised two dollars a month, in consideration of their working in rainy days; and from that time until the harbor was completed, the work was prosecuted without regard to the weather. This arrangement, however, did not much increase the exposure either of the men engaged on the work, or of those employ-

ed in delivering stone, which was principally obtained on the reefs under water. In loading the scows with brush on the beach of the lake, and in moving timber from the beach to the pier, the men were forced to be in the water, in order to perform their work in the least possible time.

Neither clerk nor other assistant, not even a carpenter to lay out the work, was employed for the first two months, to aid the superintendent; who besides directing all the labor, making contracts, receiving materials, &c., labored in the water with the men, as much exposed as themselves, and conformed to the rules prescribed to them of commencing work at daylight, and continuing until dark, allowing half an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner. Besides the labors of the day, he was often detained until late at night waiting the arrival of boats, to measure their loads of stone, and to see them delivered in the pier, as without this vigilance some of the boatmen would unload their stone into the lake, which was easier than to deposit it in the pier.

After the pier was extended about thirty rods into the lake, and settled as well as the limited time would allow, a carpenter was employed at one dollar per day to superintend the raising of the pier, from the surface of the water to its full height. This was done by securing the timber in the manner already described. As the work advanced into deep water, the bases of the cribs were enlarged, and the cost of the work alarmingly increased. It was resolved to suspend operations for that year, on reaching seven and a half feet water.

On the seventh of September, after the timber work was completed, and while the pier was but partially filled with stone, two small vessels came under its lee, and made fast. Towards evening, appearances indicated a storm, and while the superintendent and captains were deliberating whether the vessels might not endanger the pier, and perhaps carry away that part to which they were fastened, the gale commenced, rendering it impossible to remove the vessels otherwise than by casting them loose, and letting them go on the beach. This was proposed by the superintendent, and agreed to by the captains, on condition that the safety of the pier should appear to be endangered by the vessels. Both the pier and the vessels, however, remained uninjured through the storm, which was regarded as no mean test of the utility and permanency of the works.

The pier, which at this time extended fifty rods into the lake, was in a few days filled with stone, and the operations upon it suspended for the season.

It may not be out of place here to name the captains of the two first vessels which found shelter in Buffalo harbor—Austin and Fox. The former was an old Point Judith fisherman, who after spending most of his life on the ocean, removed to the Vermilion river and settled on a farm. But yielding to his yearning for the water, he built a small vessel, of which he was captain, and his sons the crew, and engaged in the lake trade. He was a shrewd, observing man, had seen and examined many artificial harbors, and his advice contributed much to the correct location and permanent construction of Buffalo harbor. Fox, long known as a successful captain on the lakes, took a deep interest in the construction of the work, and during the three years that it was in progress, frequently aided by volunteering his own labor and that of his crews. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, it gave at the time no small encouragement, and has been gratefully remembered.

INDIAN IDEAS AND ELOQUENCE.

FROM FRANKLIN.

At the congress of Lancaster, in 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Five Nations, the Indians were told, that if they would send some of their young men to Virginia, the English would give them an education at their college. An Indian orator replied to this offer as follows: "We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know, that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it; several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences. But when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer or kill an enemy; they spoke our language very imperfectly; were neither fit for hunters, warriors or counselors; they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen from Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."

REV. JOHN WILLIAMS.

Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Williams, first Minister in Deerfield, Massachusetts; with an Account of the sacking of that town by the French and Indians in 1703–4. *By* STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, A. M., M. D., *late Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Lake Erie, &c.*

CHAPTER IV.

Negociations for the exchange of prisoners—Death of Zebediah Williams—Mr. Williams and several other prisoners return to Boston, and ultimately to Deerfield—Some account of his writings—His death and character.

ABOUT the commencement of the month of March, 1706, while Mr. Williams was at Quebec, Mr. Sheldon, one of our commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, arrived there with letters from the governor of Massachusetts bay. While there, one night about ten o'clock, a shock of an earthquake was felt, the report of which was as loud as a cannon, and which caused the houses to tremble. It was heard and felt a great many miles, throughout the whole extent of the island of St. Lawrence, and various other places.

In the month of April, a man by the name of Zebediah Williams died. He was probably a son of Zebediah Williams, one of the first settlers of Deerfield, who came there in 1674. He was a very religious young man, who did much during his captivity to animate and console the prisoners; and he redeemed a captive from the thraldom of popery, who was taken during the last war. On this account many among the Catholics were very much prejudiced against him; but the French themselves, where he resided, acknowledged that he was an excellent man, a man of good information, indefatigable in studying the Scriptures, and prayerful to God. At the commencement of his sickness, before he entered the hospital at Quebec, he made Mr. Williams a visit, as he had frequently done before, and they mutually contributed to each other's comfort in their forlorn situation.

At the commencement of June, 1706, an army of five hundred Macquas and Indians left Canada with the intention of attacking some of the settlements on Connecticut river, but meeting with a Scatacook Indian who afterwards deserted from them, they were diverted from their purpose, fearing that he would alarm the inhabitants in those places. From fifty to eighty of their number returned, and God thus frustrated their designs.

Information was received that an English brigantine was on its voyage to Canada, and that the honorable captain Samuel Atherton and captain John Bonner were on board as commissioners for the redemption of the prisoners.

They had reason to bless God that he had wrought deliverance for so many of the unhappy prisoners, and they prayed to him that further means of deliverance might be pointed out. Not much less than one hundred captives still remained behind, and several of these were still among the Indians, and many were children whom they

had every reason to fear would become savages, unless a particular interposition of providence prevented.

The vessel that was sent out for them was near being wrecked on its voyage to Canada, having struck on a sandbar, where she lay in great distress for some time, in consequence of the action of four tides upon her. They, however, had reason to bless God for the occurrence, for, if they had passed the bar without obstruction, they would at midnight, during a violent snow-storm, have run upon a terrific reef of rocks.

They left Quebec on the 25th of October, 1706. They were retarded by contrary winds and a great storm, and driven back again near the city, and they came very near being shipwrecked, the vessel during the storm having struck twice upon a rock. They all arrived in safety at Boston on the 21st of November. The number of captives who left Canada in the brigantine, and arrived at Boston, was fifty-seven, among whom were two of Mr. Williams' children. He had yet a daughter of ten years of age, and many friends and neighbors among the French and Indians in the cold and inhospitable regions of Canada, and he solicited the compassionate prayers of the benevolent and good, that they would intercede with God for their deliverance.

On their arrival at Boston, they found the people of that place extending the hand of charity towards them in a remarkable manner, amply supplying their wants in their necessitous circumstances, for which they were very thankful. Mr. Williams thought there was more benevolent feeling and action in Boston than in the whole of Canada, although the people in the latter place strongly believed in the doctrine of merit. He earnestly prayed that the Lord would grant, that those who had given so liberally to them, might find the accomplishment of his promises in their persons and families from generation to generation.

The names of several of the captives who were taken from Deerfield, and who were left in Canada after Mr. Williams' return, have been found among the Indians near Montreal. There were several intermarriages, and their names have not become extinct in that vicinity. As lately as the year 1756, Mary Harris, who was one of the female prisoners, and a child at the time of the capture of the town, resided at Cahnawaga. She was at that time a married woman, and had several children, one of whom was an officer in the service of France. A gentleman from Montreal said that he saw at the lake of the Two Mountains, a French girl who told him that her grandmother was Thankful Stebbins, who was taken from Deerfield in 1704. General Hoyt has procured the names of the principal part of the prisoners who were taken at Deerfield, and who were left in Canada after the return of Mr. Williams. They are as follows:—

William Brooks, Mary Brooks, Daniel Crowfoot, Samuel Carter, John Carter, Mary Carter, Elizabeth Corse, Abigail Denio, Mary Field, Freedom French, Abigail French, Mary Harris, Samuel Hastings, Ebenezer Hoit, Thomas Hurst, Joanna Kellog, Abigail Nims, Jeremiah Richards, Josiah Rising, Ebenezer Stebbins, Thankful Stebbins,

Joseph Stebbins, Elizabeth Stevens, Waitstill Warner, Eunice Williams.

Many of the prisoners became very much attached to the Indians and their mode of life, and some of them were very loth to leave them after they were redeemed. A lad, by the name of Jonathan Hoit, who was taken at the time of the destruction of the town, at the age of sixteen years, was very fond of them. He resided with them two years and a half, at a place called Lorete, upon the river St. Charles, not far from Quebec. He learnt their language so perfectly, that he never forgot it to the day of his death, which was in the ninety-second year of his age. Soon after his return to Deerfield, his former Indian master came down to make him a visit, and he was kindly received by him, and treated with kindness and respect. Jonathan was redeemed by major Dudley, son of governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, in the following manner, as related by colonel Elihu Hoyt, one of his descendants, in his history of the first settlement of Deerfield, a small pamphlet in the duodecimo form:—

"The Indians were in the habit of raising and bringing to market garden sauce, &c. One day major Dudley saw young Hoit in the street; he said to him, are you not an English boy? He answered, yes. Do you not wish to go home and see your friends? I do, was the answer. Where is your master? said the major. Some where in the city, answered the boy. Bring him to me, said he. The boy now tripped over the ground with a light heart, in pursuit of his master, who soon came. The agent said to the Indian, I will give you this for the boy, holding out to him a purse of twenty dollars. The temptation was too great to be resisted; the bargain was made, the money handed over, and the Indian went away well satisfied. The gentleman immediately sent the boy on board a ship then lying in the river for the reception of the ransomed prisoners. The agent was aware that when the Indian had leisure to reflect, he would return and make a proposition to give up the money, and take his boy again; he was not mistaken in his conjecture; he soon came back and desired to give up the money for the boy; he told him he could not have him, he was out of his reach. The Indian went away lamenting that he had parted with his favorite captive boy, for a few dumb dollars, that would neither fish nor hunt. By this means the captive was restored to his home and his friends."

About the time that Mr. Williams left Canada, new troubles began to arise in that province. Letters were received from Mississippi, written in the preceding May, stating that the plague was prevailing there, and that one hundred and fifty Frenchmen had died within a very short space of time, and that the tribe of Indians there called the Lazilouways, were very boisterous and had wounded a Jesuit severely, and had killed his servant, a Frenchman. Farther information reached them in July, that the Indians upon the river were engaged in war with each other, and the French who resided amongst them were in great danger; that the Mitchel Macquinas had commenced war against the Miziamnies, and had killed a friar, three Frenchmen, and eleven Indians, at a place called the straits, where they were erecting a fort for the purpose of traffic; they had also

taken sixteen Frenchmen prisoners, and burnt their trading houses. These things greatly perplexed the French in Canada, but the Jesuits strove hard to pacify them, but their troubles rather increased than subsided when they left Canada; for the last letters from the French prisoners in those regions stated that the Indians had sent out two companies, one of one hundred and sixty, and one of one hundred and fifty-nine, against the savages at the straits, and they were fearful that they would attack the French as well as the Indians.

Mr. Williams did not immediately return to Deerfield after his emancipation from the French and Indians. He probably had some doubts whether he should again settle in the ministry in Deerfield. On the 30th of November, 1706, nine or ten days after his arrival at Boston, the town of Deerfield chose commissioners, viz. "captain Thomas French and captain Jonathan Wells, to go down to the bay for them, and in their behalf to act and treat with their pastor, the Rev. John Williams, in order to his re-settlement with them again in the work of the ministry, as also to take advice and counsel of the elders in our county for the management of the work, as also to put up a petition to the general court, or counsel, for a grant of money for the encouragement of the Rev. Mr. John Williams in his re-settlement in said work with them, and in all these particulars to act and do according to the best of their discretion." Mr. Williams, after serious consideration, accepted the call, although the war still continued with unabated fury, and the inhabitants were kept in a continual state of alarm.

On the 9th of January, 1707, the town agreed to build a house for him, "as big as ensign Sheldon's, and a back room as big as may be thought convenient." Ensign Sheldon's house was the old picketed fort which is still standing, and is occupied by the family of the late colonel Hoyt. On the third of April, the town voted, "that they would pay unto Mr. John Williams twenty pounds in money, and every male head of sixteen years and upwards, one day's work a piece; those that have teams, a day with their teams for the year." They also voted to pay Thomas Wells for boarding Mr. Choate the last half year he preached in Deerfield. On the 17th of November they voted "to send a petition to the general court for a grant of money towards the maintenance of the Rev. John Williams in the work of the ministry in Deerfield." They also gave him and his heirs forever, a large tract of land adjoining his house, and in the meadows.

Indian depredations continued for many years after the re-settlement of Mr. Williams. Soon after the destruction of the town at the time of his capture the inhabitants rebuilt it. In May, 1704, Mr. John Allen and his wife were killed at a place called the Barrs, and in the summer of the same year, serjeant John Hawks was attacked by the Indians, but escaped to Hatfield with a slight wound upon his hand; and in July a man by the name of Thomas Russell was killed by them at the north part of the town.

August, 1708. As some scouts from Deerfield were returning from White river, in Vermont, they were attacked by the Indians, and a man by the name of Barber was killed, he having killed the

Indian who fired upon him, so near together did they discharge their guns. Martin Kellog was captured; the rest were so fortunate as to escape. On the 26th of October of this year, Mr. Ebenezer Field was killed by the Indians near Bloody brook.

In the month of April, 1709, Mehuman Hinsdale, a son of one of the first settlers of Deerfield, and the first male child ever born there, was taken prisoner by the Indians, as he was driving his team between Hatfield and Northampton, and carried by them to Canada. From thence he was carried to France, and from France to England, and he was brought from the latter place to Deerfield. The succeeding month of the same year, lieutenant John Wells and John Burt, inhabitants of Deerfield, were killed in a skirmish with the Indians on French, or Onion river, in Vermont. They, with others, had been out on an expedition against the enemy, as far as Lake Champlain, where they had killed several of them.

It seems that the Indians and their commanders were not yet satisfied with their hostilities upon this land abounding with milk and honey, for another attempt was made to sack or destroy the town in the month of June, 1709, by Rouville, one of the brothers who made the successful attack upon the town in 1704. His force consisted of one hundred and eighty French and Indians, but vigorous efforts were now made by the inhabitants, for the defence, many of whom had recently returned from Canada, and their late disasters had taught them military prudence, and inspired them with courage in opposing the savage foes. The enemy, from these preparations, thought it most prudent to withdraw their troops and abandon the attack. They did not quit the place until they had taken Joseph Clesson and John Arms prisoners. Jonathan Williams and Matthew Clesson were killed at the time, and lieutenant Mattoon, and Isaac Taylor were wounded, but both of them fortunately survived. I am inclined to think that this Joseph Clesson was the one who was so cruelly treated by the Indians in Canada in one of their sports, which was to cause him to run the gauntlet. The account of the transaction is as follows:— The Indians arranged themselves in two rows facing each other, armed with clubs. They then pinioned the hands of the captive, and forced him to run through the ranks, while every Indian gave him a severe blow with his club. Mr. Clesson was severely mangled by them in this way, while in Canada and under the protection of the French. His lower jaw was broken, and he was otherwise most cruelly bruised. He was ever afterwards extremely indignant against the Indians for this outrage, and the bare mention of an Indian would rouse a resentment in his breast as furious as a lion or a bear in its rage.

Mr. Williams about this time was earnestly solicited to accept the office of chaplain in the army in the expedition against Canada under general Hill and admiral Walker. He had been previously requested to accept the same in the expedition against Port Royal, under the command of colonel March, with seven hundred men, in the year 1707. Soon after, he was appointed chaplain in the winter expedition to Canada under the command of colonel Stoddard, for the purpose of redeeming prisoners. Colonel Stoddard was successful in redeem-

ing many of his fellow citizens, but they could not obtain the daughter of Mr. Williams.

Mr. Williams' salary was, for some time, probably too small to support him, and the general court allowed him two islands in Connecticut river, opposite to the town of Deerfield, now called Smead's and Corse's islands, containing between thirty and forty acres, in consequence of his petitioning in behalf of the town, for an extension of its territories. This petition was granted, and the line then extended west from Connecticut river nine miles, as far as the western boundaries of Northampton and Hatfield. The town was then about fourteen miles in length, and nine in breadth, and occupied the towns now embracing Greenfield, Conway, Shelburne, Gill, and a part of Whately.

On the 30th of September, 1712, some scouts were sent from Deerfield under the command of Samuel Taylor, to the Hudson, or North river, as it was then called, in the state of New York. They were attacked by the Indians on this day, and a man by the name of Samuel Andros was killed ; Jonathan Barret was wounded, and he and William Stanford were taken prisoners, carried to Canada, and redeemed by lieutenant Samuel Williams, who was there with a flag of truce, and they returned to Deerfield after an absence of two months. From the year 1712 to 1720, the people of Deerfield were not much molested by the Indians.

To show the continued attachment of the people of Deerfield to Mr. Williams, the town voted to provide him his wood at its own expense, in addition to his salary, and to procure him the value of sixty ordinary loads, in the year 1724—5.

In the latter part of June, 1724, as some scouts were returning from the north part of Greenfield, near Rocky Mountain, to the fort at Deerfield, they were attacked by the Indians, and Ebenezer Sheldon, Thomas Colton, and Jeremiah English, a friendly Indian, were killed; the Indians were dispersed by the rear of the scouts coming upon them suddenly. In the same year, two men by the names of lieutenant Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen, who had been at work in the north meadows, were attacked by a party of Indians who lay concealed in the woods at Pine Hill. They were both wounded, but fortunately they recovered.

On the 25th of August, 1725, as Deac. Field, Deac. Childs, and several others from Deerfield were passing up the road near Green River Farms, they were ambuscaded by the Indians, whom the party had previously discovered, as they were posted on an eminence. An Indian was killed by John Wells. The party afterwards returned towards a mill, but one of them, Deacon Field, was severely wounded, the ball passing through the lower part of the right side of the abdomen, cutting off several folds of the mesentery, which protruded through the wound to the extent of two inches, and was cut off even with the body; the ball then passed between the two lowest ribs, fracturing the last one. It likewise took off one of his thumbs at the root, and the bone of the fore-finger, and lodged in the hand between the fore and second finger. The ball was extracted, and a perfect

cure of all his wounds was effected by Dr. Thomas Hastings, in less than three weeks.

Mr. Williams for many years devoted much of his time and attention to the pursuits of science and literature, and to the cares and obligations attendant upon his professional duties as a faithful minister of the Gospel. For the times in which he lived, he was a writer of no mean abilities. He has not left behind him many of his published productions. The only ones which I recollect to have seen, are his Redeemed Captive returning to Zion, in which he gives an account of his captivity and sufferings, and a Sermon preached at Boston, December 6, 1706, soon after his return from Canada. These works evince talents and great piety. The age in which he lived was not one of publications like the present, or doubtless more of his works would have been published. He was a very constant attendant upon the annual convention of ministers in the then province of Boston, when he was always treated with respect and attention. In 1728, he preached an interesting discourse at that convention.

I have seen some of his manuscript productions which are interesting. In some of his writings under the head of Philosophy, he treats of mists and fogs—of wind, of water, or the doctrine of Hydrostatics —of matter—of the earth—of fire—of beasts, birds, and fishes—of insects of the Julian period—of the method of drawing a meridian line upon an horizontal plain—of Mercury—of Vulcan—of Mars—of an Echo, &c. &c. These topics shew that he had a philosophical turn of mind, and a greater taste for the abstruse sciences than is usual to be found at that period.

The following is his description of a drunkard, which will give some idea of his style of writing, and will shew that the habit of intoxication is not confined to the present day :—

A DRUNKARD DESCRIBED.

"Though wine is so beneficial to this life that in vitæ vitam hominis Esseidieros, and how many say that the happiness of one consists in the enjoyment of the other; but do not consider that if wine be the cradle of life, yet it is the grave of the reason, for if men do not constantly sail in the "red sea of claret" their souls are oft times drowned therein. It blinds them, and leaves them under darkness, especially when it begins to draw forth sparkles and little stars from their eyes. Then the body being drowned in drink, the mind floats, or else is stranded. Thus too great love of the vine is pernicious to life, for from it come more faults than grapes, and it breeds more mischief than pleasures. Would you see an instance of this, observe a drunken man. O beast! See how his head reels and totters. His head sinks, his feet fail, his hands tremble, his mouth froths, his cheeks are flabby, his eyes sparkle and water, his words are unintelligible, his tongue falters and stops, his throat sends forth a nasty loathsome stench; but what do I do? There is no end of his filthiness."

Soon after Mr. Williams' return to Deerfield, he married a second time to the daughter of captain Allen of Windsor, Connecticut. She, as well as his first wife, were grand-daughters of the Rev. Mr. War-

ham, formerly pastor of Windsor. By his second wife he had five children. Eight of his children survived him; four sons and four daughters. His three eldest sons, Eleazer, Stephen and Warham, were settled in the ministry at Mansfield, Connecticut, and at Springfield and Watertown, Massachusetts. Stephen received the degree of doctor of Divinity from Dartmouth College, but was educated at Harvard. He lived to a great old age. His son Elijah, by his second wife, was educated at Harvard College, and lived at Deerfield, where he was much respected as an honorable merchant, and an able magistrate. His eldest daughter married Mr. Meacham, the former pastor of Coventry, Connecticut.

Mr. Williams died at Deerfield on the 12th of June, 1729, in the 65th year of his age, and the 44th year of his ministry. He was attacked with a fit of apoplexy on the morning of the 9th. It was perceived upon speaking to him that he had the exercise of reason, but he was never able to articulate distinctly more than two or three words after he was taken ill. The writer of his obituary notice, which was published in the Boston News-Letter, the first newspaper ever published in New-England, thus speaks of him:— "God, who first sent him to us, and inclined his heart to settle with us in our small beginnings, hath made him a great blessing unto us. His heart was engaged in his work, and was abundant in his labors, both in season and out of season, plainly, faithfully, and frequently warning, urging, and entreating both elder and younger unto piety and perseverance in it. He was much in prayer, and singularly gifted in it. We hope through grace he has left many seals of his ministry among us.

"The divine providence which fixed his post in one of the frontier towns of the province, fitted him for it by giving him patience and cheerfulness of spirit; so that he was wonderfully carried through all the difficulties, distractions and dangers that he encountered. And his prayers, counsel, and example, did not a little contribute to the support and encouragement of his people from time to time."

And another writer, the Rev. Rodolphus Dickinson, of this town, in his view of Deerfield, thus beautifully eulogizes him:—

"The character of Mr. Williams was extensively known, and held in high estimation; as may be learned aside from other respectful attentions, by his appointment to preach to a general convention of the clergymen of Massachusetts at Boston. He is represented by his contemporaries, who have witnessed his efforts before the most enlightened and powerful auditories in the province, as a powerful and affecting preacher. He is also commended for his domestic virtues, his eminent piety, humility, sincerity, and goodness of heart. His voluntary abandonment of the scenes of his beloved nativity, secure from the incursions of the savages, to settle in a frontier place, perpetually exposed to their depredations, where personal safety, so indispensable to other enjoyments, was for many years a stranger to their habitations; and his return to the work of the ministry, subject to the same dangers, after the complicated afflictions of his captivity, evince his ardent love for the people of his care, and testify that he was animated with the spirit of a martyr in the advancement of the Gospel. It is impossible to peruse his interesting narrative of the

destruction of Deerfield, and the slaughter and captivity of its inhabitants, in the suffering in which he so largely participated, without being inspired with a respect for his talents and piety, and an admiration of that unexampled fortitude, which could sustain him under private calamities, such as rarely happen to man, and a view of public desolations, similar, though less extended, to those apostrophized by the mournful son of Hilkiah. But a holy resignation to the Supreme Disposer of events, was the balm of every sorrow. His path was lighted by a hope that looks beyond this transient scene. He was redeemed from the flames, passed through the wilderness and sea of dangers, and, as we trust, reached a temple eternal in the heavens."

SIMON KENTON'S REAL SIGNATURE.

The following signature of general Simon Kenton, is taken from a bond executed by him to general Nathaniel Massie, July 30, 1798. Henry Massie, Esq., of Chillicothe, who kindly furnished it for publication, says he knows that it is Kenton's bona fide signature and that he has others. We



find, therefore, that both they who believe the signature, we gave on page 160 to be genuine, and they who believe general Kenton could not write at all, are mistaken. It is quite probable, however, that his capacity for writing extended little farther than his signature.

Lost Confidence.—An Indian runner, arriving in a village of his countrymen, requested the immediate attendance of its inhabitants in council, as he wanted their answer to important information. The people accordingly assembled, but when the messenger had with great anxiety delivered his message, and waited for an answer, none was given, and he soon observed that he was likely to be left alone in his place. A stranger present asked a principal chief the meaning of this strange proceeding, who gave this answer, "*He once told us a lie.*"

A Serious Question.—About 1794, an officer presented a western chief with a medal, on one side of which president Washington was represented as armed with a sword, and on the other an Indian was seen in the act of burying the hatchet. The chief at once saw the wrong done his countrymen, and very wisely asked, "*Why does not the President bury his sword too?*"

ANECDOTES OF JOE LOGSTON.

To Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

I comply with your request, in giving you, for the Pioneer, a sketch of the life and character of a family by the name of Logston, as being connected with the early settlement of Virginia and Kentucky.

The elder Logston, whose name was Joseph, and his wife, whose name, I think, was Mary, with an only son bearing his name, lived, when I first knew them, in Virginia, near the source of the north branch of the Potomac, in one of the most inhospitable regions of the Alleghany mountains, some twenty or thirty miles from any settlement. There never was, perhaps, a family better calculated to live in such a place. Old Joe (for they were soon known as Old Joe and Young Joe Logston) was a very large athletic man, with uncommon muscular strength. The old lady was not so much above the ordinary height of women, but like the Dutchman's horse, was built up from the ground; and it would have taken the strength of two or three common women to equal hers. The son was no discredit to either in the way of strength, size, or activity. In fact he soon outstripped his father. What little he lost in height was more than compensated in the thickness and muscle of the mother, so that when he came to his full size and strength, he went by the name of Big Joe Logston. I would not venture to say his physical powers were equal to those of the strong man of old, but such they were as to become proverbial. It was often said to stout looking, growing young men, "You will soon be as big as Big Joe Logston."

Joe sometimes descended from his mountain heights into the valleys, in order to exchange his skins for powder, lead, and other articles for the use of the family. While in society he entered, with great alacrity, into all the various athletic sports of the day. No Kentuckian could ever, with greater propriety than he, have said, "I can out-run, out-hop, out-jump, throw down, drag out, and whip any man in the country." And as to the use of the rifle, he was said to be one of the quickest and surest centre shots to be found. With all this, as is usual with men of real grit, Joe was good natured, and never sought a quarrel. No doubt many a bullying, bragging fellow would have been proud of the name of having whipped Big Joe Logston, but that, on taking a close survey of him, thought "prudence the better part of valor," and let him return to his mountain without raising his dander.

About the time Joe arrived at manhood, his father, and perhaps his mother, were called hence, leaving him single handed to contend,

not only with the Spitzbergen winters of the mountains, but with the bears, panthers, wolves, rattlesnakes, and all the numerous tribes of dangerous animals, reptiles and insects, with which the mountain regions abound. Joe, however, maintained his ground for several years, until the settlements had begun to encroach on what he had been accustomed to consider his own premises. One man sat down six miles east of him, another about the same distance in another direction, and finally one, with a numerous family, had the temerity to come and pitch his cabin within two miles of him. This Joe could *not* stand, and he pulled up stakes and decamped to seek a neighborhood where he could hear the crack of no man's rifle but his own.

Of all the men I ever knew he was the best qualified to live on a frontier where there were savages, either animal or human, to contend with. His uncommon size and strength, and inclination to be entirely free from restraint, made him choose his residence a little outside of the bounds of law and civil liberty. I do not know the precise time he left the Alleghanies, but believe it was between the years of 1787 and '91. The next that we heard of Joe was, that he had settled in Kentucky, south of Green river, I think on Little Barren river, and of course, a little in advance of the settlements. The frontiers were frequently compelled to contend with the southern Indians. There was not a particle of fear in Joe's composition; that ingredient was left out of his mixture. I never knew such a man in my life. There he would be. He soon had an introduction to a new acquaintance. So far he had been acquainted only with savage beasts, but now savage man came in his way, and as it "stirs the blood more to rouse the lion than to start a hare," Joe was in his delight. The Indians made a sudden attack, and all that escaped were driven into a rude fort for preservation, and, though reluctantly, Joe was one. This was a new life to him and did not at all suit his taste. He soon became very restless, and every day insisted on going out with others to hunt up the cattle. Knowing the danger better, or fearing it more, all persisted in their refusals to go with him.

To indulge his taste for the woodman's life, he turned out alone, and rode till the after part of the day without finding any cattle. What the Indians had not killed were scared off. He concluded to return to the fort. Riding along a path which led in, he came to a fine vine of grapes. He laid his gun across the pommel of his saddle, set his hat on it, and filled it with grapes. He turned into the path and rode carelessly along, eating his grapes, and the first intimation he had of danger, was the crack of two rifles, one from each side of the road. One of the balls passed through the paps of his

breast, which, for a male, were remarkably prominent, almost as much so as those of many nurses. The ball just grazed the skin between the paps, but did not injure the breast bone. The other ball struck his horse behind the saddle, and he sunk in his tracks. Thus was Joe eased off his horse in a manner more rare than welcome. Still he was on his feet in an instant, with his rifle in his hands and might have taken to his heels; and I will venture the opinion, that no Indian could have caught him. That, he said, was not his sort. He had never left a battle ground without leaving his mark, and he was resolved that *that* should not be the first. The moment the guns fired, one very athletic Indian sprang towards him with tomahawk in hand. His eye was on him, and his gun to his eye, ready, as soon as he approached near enough to make a sure shot, to let him have it. As soon as the Indian discovered this, he jumped behind two pretty large saplings, some small distance apart, neither of which were large enough to cover his body, and to save himself as well as he could, he kept springing from one to the other.

Joe, knowing he had two enemies on the ground, kept a lookout for the other by a quick glance of the eye. He presently discovered him behind a tree loading his gun. The tree was not quite large enough to hide him. When in the act of pushing down his bullet, he exposed pretty fairly his hips. Joe, in the twinkling of an eye, wheeled and let him have his load in the part exposed. The big Indian then, with a mighty "Ugh!" rushed towards him with his raised tomahawk. Here were two warriors met, each determined to conquer or die,—each the Goliah of his nation. The Indian had rather the advantage in size of frame, but Joe in weight and muscular strength. The Indian made a halt at the distance of fifteen or twenty feet, and threw his tomahawk with all his force, but Joe had his eye on him and dodged it. It flew quite out of the reach of either of them. Joe then clubbed his gun and made at the Indian, thinking to knock him down. The Indian sprang into some brush, or saplings, to avoid his blows. The Indian depended entirely on dodging with the help of the saplings. At length Joe, thinking he had a pretty fair chance, made a side blow with such force, that missing the dodging Indian, the gun, now reduced to the naked barrel, was drawn quite out of his hands, and flew entirely out of reach. The Indian now gave another exulting "Ugh!" and sprang at him with all the savage fury he was master of. Neither of them had a weapon in his hands, and the Indian, seeing Logston bleeding freely, thought he could throw him down and dispatch him. In this he was mistaken. They seized each other and a desperate scuffle ensued.

Joe could throw him down, but could not hold him there. The Indian being naked, with his hide oiled, had greatly the advantage in a ground scuffle, and would still slip out of Joe's grasp and rise. After throwing him five or six times, Joe found, that between loss of blood and violent exertions, his wind was leaving him, and that he must change the mode of warfare or lose his scalp, which he was not yet willing to spare. He threw the Indian again, and without attempting to hold him, jumped from him, and as he rose, aimed a fist blow at his head, which caused him to fall back, and as he would rise, Joe gave him several blows in succession, the Indian rising slower each time. He at last succeeded in giving him a pretty fair blow in the burr of the ear, with all his force, and he fell, as Joe thought, pretty near dead. Joe jumped on him, and thinking he could dispatch him by choaking, grasped his neck with his left hand, keeping his right one free for contingencies. Joe soon found the Indian was not so dead as he thought, and that he was making some use of his right arm which lay across his body, and on casting his eye down discovered the Indian was making an effort to unsheath a knife that was hanging at his belt. The knife was short and so sunk in the sheath that it was necessary to force it up by pressing against the point. This the Indian was trying to effect, and with good success. Joe kept his eye on it, and let the Indian work the handle out, when he suddenly grabbed it, jerked it out of the sheath, and sunk it up to the handle into the Indian's breast, who gave a death groan and expired.

Joe now thought of the other Indian, and not knowing how far he had succeeded in killing or crippling him, sprang to his feet. He found the crippled Indian had crawled some distance towards them, and had propped his broken back against a log and was trying to raise his gun to shoot him, but in attempting to do which he would fall forward and had to push against his gun to raise himself again. Joe seeing that he was safe, concluded he had fought long enough for healthy exercise that day, and not liking to be killed by a crippled Indian, he made for the fort. He got in about nightfall, and a hard looking case he was—blood and dirt from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, no horse, no hat, no gun—with an account of the battle that some of his comrades could scarce believe to be much else than one of his big stories in which he would sometimes indulge. He told them they must go and judge for themselves.

Next morning a company was made up to go to Joe's battle ground. When they approached it Joe's accusers became more confirmed, as there was no appearance of dead Indians, and nothing Joe

had talked of but the dead horse. They, however, found a trail as if something had been dragged away. On pursuing it they found the big Indian, at a little distance, beside a log, covered up with leaves. Still pursuing the trail, though not so plain, some hundred yards farther, they found the broken backed Indian, lying on his back with his own knife sticking up to the hilt in his body, just below the breast bone, evidently to show that he had killed himself and that he had not come to his end by the hand of an enemy. They had a long search before they found the knife with which Joe killed the big Indian. They at last found it forced down into the ground below the surface, apparently by the weight of a person's heel. This had been done by the crippled Indian. The great efforts he must have made, alone, in that condition, show, among thousands of other instances, what Indians are capable of under the greatest extremities.

Some years after the above took place, peace with the Indians was restored. That frontier, like many others, became infested with a gang of outlaws, who commenced stealing horses and committing various depredations. To counteract which a company of regulators, as they were called, was raised. In a contest between these and the depredators, Big Joe Logston lost his life, which would not be highly esteemed in civil society. But in frontier settlements, which he always occupied, where savages and beasts were to be contested with for the right of soil, the use of such a man is very conspicuous. Without such, the country could never have been cleared of its natural rudeness so as to admit of the more brilliant and ornamental exercises of arts, sciences and civilization.

Felix Renick

The readers of the Pioneer will never object to filling some little spaces with choice and short receipts or pieces of information such as the following.

To insure presence of mind in case of accident, let every parent and every child be impressed with the idea that if a person whose clothes take fire will lie down and roll over, almost all danger from such an accident is avoided, for clothes burn slowly when in a horizontal position. Many years ago the editor of the Pioneer would, in all probability, have lost a child by such an accident, but his little brother and sister, the only ones in the house with the infant, intuitively threw him down and with their dry hands extinguished the flames! No other damage was done than the blistering of the hands of the little conquerors, and perhaps the loss of a calico frock.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME, INDIAN.

The name, *Indian*, was erroneously applied to the original man of America by its first discoverers. The attempt to arrive at the East Indies by sailing west, caused the discovery of the islands and continent of America. When they were at first discovered, *Columbus*, and many after him, supposed they had arrived at the eastern shore of the continent of India, and hence the people they found there were called *Indians*. The error was not discovered until the name had so obtained, that it could not well be changed. It is true, that it matters but little to us by what name the indigenes of a country are known, and especially those of America, in as far as the name is seldom used among us but in application to the aboriginal Americans. But with the people of Europe it was not so unimportant. Situated between the two countries, India and America, the same name for the inhabitants of both must, at first, have produced considerable inconvenience, if not confusion; because, in speaking of an *Indian*, no one would know whether an American or a Zealander was meant, unless by the context of the discourse. Therefore, in a historical point of view, the error is, at least, as much to be deplored as that the name of the continent itself should have been derived from *Americus* instead of *Columbus*.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME, YANKEE.

Asbury, an author who did not respect the Americans, being an officer in general *Burgoyne's* army, and among the captives surrendered at Saratoga, has the following paragraph upon this word:

"The lower class of these *Yankees*—apropos, it may not be amiss here just to observe to you the etymology of this term: it is derived from a Cherokee word, *eankke*, which signifies coward and slave. This epithet of *yankee* was bestowed upon the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians, for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees, and they have always been held in derision by it. But the name has been more prevalent since [1775] the commencement of hostilities; the soldiery at Boston used it as a term of reproach; but after the affair at Bunker's Hill, the Americans gloried in it. *Yankee-doodle* is now their pœan, a favorite of favorites, played in their army, esteemed as warlike as the grenadier's march—it is the lover's spell, the nurse's lullaby. After our rapid successes, we held the yankees in great contempt; but it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune, when their army marched down to our surrender."

But Mr. *Heckewelder* thinks that the Indians, in endeavoring to pronounce the name, *English*, could get that sound no nearer than these letters give it, *yengees*. This was perhaps the true origin of *Yankee.—Drake.*

CHIKATAUBUT.

Chikataubut, or *Chikkatabak*,—in English, a *house-a-fire*,—was a sachem of considerable note, and generally supposed to have had dominion over the Massachusetts Indians. *Thomas Morton* mentions him in his New Canaan, as sachem of Passonagesit, (about Weymouth,) and says his mother was buried there. I need make no comments upon the authority, or warn the reader concerning the stories of *Morton*, as this is done in almost every book, early and late, about New England; but shall relate the following from him.

In the first settling of Plymouth, some of the company, in wandering about upon discovery, came upon an Indian grave, which was that of the mother of *Chikataubut*. Over the body a stake was set in the ground, and two bear-skins, sewed together, spread over it; these the English took away. When this came to the knowledge of *Chikataubut*, he complained to his people, and demanded immediate vengeance. When they were assembled, he thus harangued them: "When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe, and birds grew silent, I began to settle, as my custom is, to take repose. Before mine eyes were fast closed, me tho't I saw a vision, at which my spirit was much troubled, and trembling at that doleful sight, a spirit cried aloud, 'Behold! my son, whom I have cherished; see the paps that gave thee suck, the hands that clasped thee warm, and fed thee oft; canst thou forget to take revenge of those wild people, that hath my monument defaced in a spiteful manner; disdaining our ancient antiquities, and honorable customs! See now the sachem's grave lies like unto the common people, of ignoble race defaced. Thy mother doth complain, implores thy aid against this thievish people new come hither; if this be suffered, I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation.' "

If this be fiction, a modern compiler has deceived some of his readers. The original may be seen in *Morton's New Canaan*, page 106 and 107.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

1583. Sir Humphry Gilbert made another voyage to America, and perished, during a storm, in attempting to return in the Squirrel, a bark of only ten tons!

1584. Sir Walter Raleigh, step-brother to sir Humphry Gilbert, obtains a patent to colonize.

July.—Takes possession of the land in the name of the queen of England (Elizabeth) on Woioken, the southernmost island of Ocracock inlet.

As the queen heard their reports, she esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

1585. April.—A fleet commanded by Ralph Lane, afterwards sir Ralph Lane, sailed from Plymouth, England, to establish a colony under Raleigh's patent, and to be governed by sir Richard Grenville. Harriot, the inventer of notation in modern algebra, and Cavendish, the circumnavigator, accompanied this expedition.

The fleet was near being wrecked near a cape which they called Cape of Fear. They colonize Roanoak island.

1586. Sir Francis Drake discovered and named New England.

Sir Francis Drake arrived off Roanoak with his fleet and attempted to relieve the colony, but was prevented by a storm. They embark with Drake for England and introduce the use of tobacco. Grenville arrived with supplies and colonists and left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. They are supposed to have been killed by the Indians.

1587. Raleigh sent out more emigrants, who attempt again to colonize Roanoak island under the command of John White.

They lay the foundation of the city of Raleigh, some of the remains of which are still to be seen.

Virginia Dare, grand-child of governor White, and the first child of English blood on United States soil, born.

1588. Spanish invasion prevent supplies being sent, and the colony was cut off and scattered.

1590. Attempts to find the colonists, but without success. Five attempts make by Raleigh to find some traces of them, but without success.

1598. French again attempt to settle Canada by De la Roche, but failed.

1600. Chauvin obtains a patent monopoly of the fur trade.

1602. Bartholomew Gosnold visited the Bay of Massachusetts and landed on cape Cod.

1603. Quebec settled by Champlain as a suitable place for a fort.

De Monts obtains a still wider monopoly of the fur trade.

Martin Pring sailed for America and explored the country from Maine to Martha's Vinyard.

1604. Pontrincort entered the harbor of Annapolis and named it Port Royal.

De Monts made his first attempt at settlement on the island of St. Croix.

1605. De Monts removed to and built Port Royal and explored the rivers of New England as far as cape Cod.

Weymouth visited Maine and Massachusetts.

1606. De Monts attempts a settlement of New England, but was prevented by contrary winds.

Pring made another voyage and more accurate survey of Maine.

April.—James II. issues a patent for Virginia to John Smith, Gosnold and others.

1607. May 13.—Fleet moored off Jamestown, and the next day they commenced the first permanent settlement of the territory now the United States.



FORT DU QUESNE, THE FIRST FORT PITT, AND FORT PITT.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. JULY, 1842. NO. VII.

FORT DU QUESNE AND FORT PITT.

[See Frontispiece.]

Before speaking specifically of this important point, it may not be amiss to say that by right of discovery France claimed and settled Canada as seen in pages 119 and 120 of the Pioneer; and by the same right England claimed the land now the United States. She chartered to her settlers, granting the land from the Atlantic coast to the South sea, that is, she deeded the Atlantic front extending indefinitely back. The east and west line was not however definitely settled between the two countries, for while each might conceed to the other the respective tracts, the lines which should divide those tracts were not marked, but became subjects of dispute which nothing but the sword seemed adequate to settle. Appeals of this sort seldom stop short of aggression and robbery on a large scale, so it turned out in this instance, for although the right of discovery might be considered valid, and the fact of discovery might be well ascertained and acknowledged, yet the quantity or bounds of discovery was a matter not so easily adjusted.

We are told that as early as the year 1660, information was received in Canada from the Indians, that, west of Canada there was a river which flowed neither east nor north. The government conjectured that it must empty itself into the gulf of Mexico or the Pacific, and sent Joliet and Marquette to ascertain the fact. They proceeded from lake Michigan up Fox river and down the Wiskonsin to the Mississippi, and down that river to the 33d degree of latitude, and returned through Illinois. The mouth of the Mississippi was afterwards discovered by La Salle. Upon this ground it was that France claimed the whole of the Mississippi valley, which confined the English government east of the Alleghanies. This of course conflicted materially with what England had claimed as her rights, and also with the amount of territory which she had given to her Atlantic patentees.

France however was determined to hold the valley of the Mississippi, and in the year 1722 settled New Orleans, intending to maintain her rights by a line of fortifications; and New France or Canada, in their ideas, extended around the English possessions, from New Foundland to Louisiana. About the middle of the eighteenth century hostilities commenced and was truly a "long and bloody war," but in which "Logan took no part,"although almost every Indian except himself was engaged in conflict on one side or the other. It was in this war that major, afterwards general *Washington*, learned the

country and the art of warfare. In 1754, the French fortified the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, and called it Fort Du Quesne, where Pittsburgh now stands. In this same year general Bradock was defeated, and the place was maintained by them till 1758, when they abandoned and destroyed the fort, which the English took possession of and fortified, under the name of the then prime minister of England, Wm. Pitt, favorably known in American history. Next year Quebec was taken, and the British government extended over Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This war lasted till 1764.

With pleasure we now introduce Isaac Craig, Esqr. of Pittsburgh, to the readers of the Pioneer. He contributed with much care the drawing which has with mathematical precision been copied for the Pioneer—He says:

"The copy of the plan of Fort Du Quesne, the first Fort Pitt, and the more important work subsequently built by general Stanwix, and also called Fort Pitt, was taken by me from a previous copy obtained by Hon. Richard Biddle, from the British museum.

"The following notes in relation to these several works may not be uninteresting as an accompaniment to the map.

"The French troops under the command of Monsieur Contrecœur arrived at the point where those forts were built, on the 17th of April, 1754, and took ensign Ward and his small party of forty-one men prisoners. They then proceeded to erect Fort Du Quesne and the horn-work attached to it, and extending up parallel to the Alleghany river. This horn-work, as well as the fort itself, was a mere stockade or picket work, the former intended mainly to protect the store-house and the cabins of some of the troops.

"Captain Stobo, who was taken prisoner at Fort Necessity on the 4th of July, 1754, and held as a hostage at Fort Du Quesne, in a letter dated 29th July, 1754, stated that there were only two hundred men then under Contrecœur, and two hundred more expected in a few days. He also stated that none lodged in the fort but Contrecœur and the guard, consisting of five officers and forty men. The rest lodged in cabins around the fort. Probably the horn-work was not then built.

"On the 24th of November, 1758, general Forbes arrived here, and took possession of the point, the French having previously destroyed Fort Du Quesne and descended the river. Provisions being scarce, a large force could not be maintained there during the winter; the first Fort Pitt, a slight work composed of pickets with a shallow and narrow ditch, was hastily thrown up for the reception of two hundred and twenty men, and the rest of the army returned to the settlements.

"That work was intended merely for a temporary purpose, and in the summer of 1759, general Stanwix arrived, and in the latter part

of August or beginning of September, commenced the erection of Fort Pitt, a work designed to "perpetuate the British power" here, as was stated in a letter written at that time.

The draught of that work was made by R. Ratzer, who was probably the engineer who superintended the work. Washington visited this place in October, 1770, and in his journal of the 17th of that month mentions that the sides next the country are of brick, the others stockade.

The brick alluded to were those in the revetment or wall which supported the rampart from L to M. The rest was not merely a stockade, but included also a rampart of earth thrown up, but being unsupported by a wall, assumed its natural slope.

REFERENCES.

a. Barracks already built.
b. Commandant's house, not built.
c. Store house.
d. d. Powder magazine.
e. Casemate completed.
f. Store house for flour, &c.
g. Wells, in two of which are pumps.
h. Fort Du Quesne.
i. i. Horn-work stockaded to cover French barracks.
k. First Fort Pitt destroyed.
n. Sally port.

In the south-east bastion, Mr. Ratzer places two magazines marked *d. d.* Within a few years past a single stone magazine stood in that place, which was erected, as I am told, by my grand-father, major Isaac Craig, in 1781.

In 1764, colonel Bouquet built a redoubt outside of the fort, in the spot marked *. This redoubt is still standing, and with some additions to it, is now occupied as a dwelling house, and is the only remaining monument of British industry and skill at this place.

The frontispiece is a draught of Fort Du Quesne, the first Fort Pitt, and Fort Pitt. It was made by R. Ratzer in 1761, afterwards given to George III., and by George IV. presented to the British Museum. From this draught a copy was made in 1830 by Wm. Osman for the Hon. Richard Biddle of Pittsburgh, who was then in London, and from that copy this second copy is made at Pittsburgh the 10th of February, 1842, by

Isaac Craig

THE REDOUBT.



Sketch of the Brick Redoubt built near Fort Pitt, "A. D. 1764, colonel Bouquet;" and of the addition made to it by Turnbull, Marmie & Co. in 1785—the redoubt being the only relic of the works erected here by the British. Corrected from a sketch by Field, made in 1837.

This building, the only relic now standing in Pittsburgh, of the works erected here by the British, was built (as is stated on the stone

tablet in its front,) by colonel Henry Bouquet, in 1764. It is situated north of Penn street, about forty-six feet west of Point street, and seven and a half feet north of Brewery alley, measuring to the right-hand corner in the sketch.

Another redoubt precisely similar, had previously been erected by colonel Wm. Grant, on the bank of the Monongahela river, just opposite to the mouth of Redoubt alley.

The front which is presented in the plate is seventeen feet, as is also the opposite side; the other two sides are twenty-two feet each.

In looking at the drawing, the reader should understand that the redoubt is merely the square building in front, having two windows and the stone tablet with the inscription. The oddness of the whole block and its entire unfitness for defense, would convince any military man that the other buildings must have been designed for other than military purposes.

In the winter of 1783–4, before the town of Pittsburgh was laid off, the agent of the Penns sold to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard, the piece of ground extending from the ditch of Fort Pitt to the Alleghany, supposed to be about three acres. This redoubt being on the out side of the ditch of the fort, passed to Craig and Bayard, and when the subsequent firm of Turnbull, Marmie & Co. was formed, it became partnership property. By this firm, the addition to the old redoubt was built in 1785, thus constituting a dwelling house, which was occupied one year by Mr. Turnbull, and subsequently three years by the father of the writer of this article, who, in 1787, was born in that building.

Colonel Bouquet, who built this now only remaining monument of British labor, was a very distinguished actor in this country, during that exciting period, from 1758 to 1764. He was an influential friend and adviser of general Forbes before and during the march to, and capture of, Fort Du Quesne.

While preparations for that march were making, he came in contact with our Washington. Washington deemed it all important that the army should pursue Braddock's road to this place, while Bouquet preferred taking a route through Pennsylvania by Ligonier, although a road had to be cut. A conference between them was held, but Bouquet remained immovable.

Washington immediately after his return from the conference, wrote a letter to major Halket, an old associate in arms, and one of general Forbes' family, from which we extract a few passages.

"I am just returned," says he, "from a conference with colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed, I think I may say unalterably fixed, to

lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which has to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.

"If colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost—all is lost indeed—our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at Laurel hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains."

The Pennsylvania route was pursued, and contrary to Washington's prediction, it terminated successfully in the capture of Fort Du Quesne, on the 25th of November, 1758.

But it is no slight evidence in favor of Washington's opinion, that the commanding general had at one time concluded to abandon the expedition, until the ensuing spring.

Judging from what we now know, the strength of the argument would seem to be on the side of Washington, but we cannot know what reasons may have prevailed in the mind of Bouquet and Forbes.

In Sparks' life of Washington, it is said that Forbes "was believed to have been influenced by the Pennsylvanians, to construct a new road, which would be of lasting benefit to that province, by opening a more direct channel of intercourse with the west."

From the capture of Fort Du Quesne until July, 1763, we know nothing more of Bouquet, but at that time he was ordered to march from Carlisle with portions of the 42d and 77th British regiments, to relieve captain Ecuyer, then besieged in Fort Pitt by the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandotts, and other Indians. On his march he was attacked by these combined Indians, at Bushy run, in Westmoreland county, on the 5th and 6th of August, and after a desperate struggle of two days, he, by a masterly manœuvre defeated them, and then effected the object of his march, by raising the siege of Fort Pitt. In the ensuing year, in October and November, he marched to the Muskingum, and there dictated peace to the Shawnee, Delaware, and Seneca Indians, and rescued more than two hundred white men, women, and children, from captivity. He was subsequently promoted to a brigadier generalship, for his good conduct in this country; and in 1766 died at Pensacola. Thus it will be perceived that this gallant officer was among the most distinguished benefactors of this section of the country, during that trying period.

Neville B. Craig

HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

THE following proceedings and letter were not sent to us for publication, but being so congenial to the genius of the American Pioneer, which should apprise the public of what is doing in the historical community, that we are pleased with the opportunity to announce the prospect of so good a work. The Rev. Mr. PECK is becoming favorably known as a historian, and may his labors be successful. We anticipate a good history of Illinois from his pen; and concerning the first efforts of civilization in the valley of the Mississippi, it cannot fail to be interesting. His letter contains other interesting particulars which should not be concealed from the public, as well as some important suggestions worthy of observance. It is with great gratification we have the opportunity of complying with the request with which his letter closes.

"*Vandalia, Illinois, Saturday evening, Feb.* 4, 1837.

"At a meeting of citizens of Illinois, held in the representatives' hall, Vandalia, at the close of an original and interesting lecture by Rev. J. M. Peck, on the early Indian history of Illinois, on motion of Jesse B. Thomas, Esq., Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood was called to the chair, and Hon. Walter B. Scates chosen secretary.

Hon. Thomas Ford, from a committee appointed at a preliminary meeting on the 2d inst., made a report, with the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this meeting regard the preparing and publishing of a complete history of Illinois, as a measure that should be accomplished so soon as it can be done with correctness of manner and accuracy of detail.

Resolved, That a competent person be nominated and requested to perform this work, and that a committee of correspondence be appointed to aid him in that object.

The report and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

On motion of J. M. Hewitt, Esq.,

Resolved, That a complete history of Illinois should embrace the various stages of its progress, from its earliest discoveries to the present time; and the various relations of its inhabitants, political, military, commercial, moral, and religious.

On motion of Jesse B. Thomas, Esq.,

Resolved, That a history of Illinois should be complete in its parts, methodical in its arrangement, accurate and discriminating in all its details, perfectly impartial in its characteristics, and divested of all political, religious and local prepossessions.

On motion of Hon. Cyrus Edwards,

Resolved, That Rev. John M. Peck be requested to undertake the writing and publication of a complete history of Illinois, from the earliest visits of the Europeans up to the present time.

On motion of James Shields, Esq.,

Resolved, That the following named gentlemen, citizens of this state, be appointed a committee of correspondence, and that they be

solicited to procure materials, and otherwise aid Mr. Peck in prepa ing the history of Illinois.

After the resolution was read, several additional names were added to the list, amongst which, on motion of judge Ford, was that of the mover, all of which were unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDNNCE.

Hon. Sidney Breese, Clinton county,	Hon. J. Reynolds, St. Clair county,
Hon. S. McRoberts, Vermilion "	Hon. J. M. Robinson, White "
Hon. N. Pope, Randolph "	Hon. S. D. Lockwood, Morgan "
Hon. William Wilson, White "	Rev. G. Blackburn, Macoupin "
Hon. R. M. Young, Adams "	J. Shields, Esq., Randolph "
Hon. Thomas Ford, Ogle "	John Hay, Esq., St. Clair "
Hon. Zadock Casey, Jefferson "	Rev. James Lemen, " "
Hon. Pierre Menard, Randolph "	Gen. J. B. Moore, Munroe "
Hon. Cyrus Edwards, Madison "	J. W. Whitney, Esq., Adams "
John Russell, Esq., Green "	Hon. Wm. Kinney, St. Clair "
J. H. Kinzie, Esq., Cook "	

On motion of colonel William Ross,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting, and the names of the committee of correspondence, be published in all the papers of this state.

On motion of J. W. Whitney, Esq.,

Resolved, That the Rev. J. M. Peck be requested to publish in the papers of this state, the two lectures delivered by him at this place, on the early French discoveries, and the early Indian history of Illinois. And the meeting adjourned.

S. D. LOCKWOOD, *Chairman.*

WALTER B. SCATES, *Secretary.*"

Rockspring, Illinois, April 8th, 1842.

JNO. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—On arriving home from a tour of five months in the southern states, I found amongst the papers that had accumulated in my office, a copy of the "*American Pioneer Extra.*" I had previously observed, in some of the weekly prints, notices of the appearance of the first number of such a work.

The plan of the work is exactly such a one as I have long desired to see, and hope you will be successful in obtaining a very extensive patronage, which in these no-currency and bank-breaking times is the main thing to sustain such a periodical.

Of materials there is no lack. You will see, from the printed portion of this sheet, that the history of our western frontiers has engaged my attention. A history of Illinois, which includes the early French history of this great valley, is in good progress. But it is a work I do not intend to hasten. Mr. John Russell, formerly of Bluffdale, in this state, but now temporarily at Louisville, Kentucky, is engaged with me in this field of labor.

I have collected and nearly completed a western library, that is, a library of every book I can get about western affairs, and I have

obtained many exceedingly scarce and ancient works, especially of French and Indian history.

I would suggest that you re-publish Boon's Narrative entire, as he wrote it. I was personally acquainted with Boon, in Missouri, from 1818 to 1820, the period of his death, and have treasured up a great variety of anecdotes received from him and his family. The late Timothy Flint wrote a pleasant romance called the Life of Boon. Very little of it is truth. Amongst other romantic incidents, Mr. Flint killed him at a salt lick, in 1818, whereas I attended his funeral in 1820. He died of fever at the house of his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, not having hunted any for some ten years.

I am now about starting for Philadelphia and New York, to return in June, but shall be occupied in traveling most of the summer. Please send me a copy of the *American Pioneer*, to the post office of *Rock Spring, Illinois*, commencing with No. 1, and allow me, if convenient, to furnish matter enough to pay for the subscription.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

J. M. Peck.

WIVES IN VIRGINIA.

Although the emigration from England continued to be considerable, few females had crossed the Atlantic. Men without wives could not consider their residence as permanent, and must intend, after amassing some wealth, to return to their native land. To remove this impediment to the population of the colony, ninety girls, of humble fortune and spotless character, were transported by the company to Virginia; and in the subsequent year (1621) they were followed by sixty of the same description. They were received by the young planters as a blessing which substituted domestic happiness for the cheerless gloom of solitude; and the face of the country was essentially changed. Mr. Stith says, the price for a wife was at first one hundred pounds of tobacco, and afterwards one hundred and fifty pounds; and a debt so contracted was made of higher dignity than any other. MARSHALL.

Bene Plant.—A few leaves of the plant when green, plunged a few times in a tumbler of water, makes it like a thin jelly, without taste or color, which children afflicted with the summer complaint will drink freely: it is said to be the best remedy ever discovered.

THE INDIAN TREATY OF 1758.

In the [English] Annual Register for 1759, page 191, we find the minutes of the above treaty. We transfer them to the pages of the Pioneer as an item of history worthy of preservation, and also as containing some beautiful specimens of native eloquence. Those who love to follow an orator who just tells his tale and no more, will be delighted with some of the speeches delivered on this occasion, not only by the chiefs themselves, but the good imitations of native eloquence to be found in the speeches of some of our pioneer fathers who took a part in that event.

In Drake's table of the principal Indian tribes, he mentions most of the tribes composing this council thus:

Mohawks, formerly a great tribe of the Iroquois, and the most warlike of those five nations.

Oneidas, a nation of the Iroquois, near Oneida lake; about 1,000.

Onondagas, a nation of the Iroquois, Onondaga hollow; about 300.

Senecas, one of the ancient Iroquois nations; 2,200, near Buffalo, New York. [Messasagnes not mentioned.]

Tuscaroras, joined the Iroquois, from Carolina, in 1712. This made the sixth nation of the "United People," as the Iroquois called themselves.

Nanticokes, near the east branch of the Susquehanna, in 1780; about 80.

Tuteloes, an ancient nation between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays.

Delawares, once numerous on the river and bay of the same name, now chiefly beyond the Mississippi; anciently Lenalenape.

Munsees, north branch of the Susquehanna, in 1780; on Wabash, in 1808; now unknown.

Mohegans, a remnant now on the Thames; below Norwich, in Connecticut.

Twightwees, on the Great Miami; 200 in 1780.

At another time we shall endeavor to give our readers some farther account of the different tribes of Indians, as well as their customs, and of their strings, belts, &c. so often mentioned in the following minutes.

MINUTES OF THE TREATY AT EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1758.

In October last all differences were made up with the several tribes of Indians inhabiting beyond the mountains as far as the lakes; and a firm peace was concluded with them upon the ancient footing. The treaty for this purpose took up from the 8th to the 26th of October to settle; and though the minutes of each day's proceedings are not equally interesting, yet they will serve to convey an idea of their manner of transacting council affairs.

At this treaty the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey attended; accompanied by Mr. George Croghan, deputy agent under sir William Johnson for the Indian affairs; four members of the Pennsylvania council; six commissioners, members of the assembly;

two agents for the province of New Jersey; a great number of gentlemen of property in the provinces; and near forty of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. These were met at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, by the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Conoys, Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies, Munseys, or Minisinks, Mohickons, and Wappingers; the chiefs of all these nations, with their women and children, made the whole number 507.

On the 7th of October, the governor, with his council, coming to Easton in the afternoon, was waited upon immediately by Teedyuscung, accompanied by Moses Tittamy, Daniel, Teepuscung, and Isaac Stille, (Delaware chiefs and interpreters, with whom peace had been concluded the year before,) who, after the usual compliments, said:

"Brother, you desire me to hollow loud, and give notice to all the Indians round about. I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees,* and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. I bid you welcome, and entreat you to join with me in casting up our eyes to heaven, and praying the blessing of the Supreme Being on our endeavors. According to our usual custom, I with this string wipe the dust and sweat off your face, and clear your eyes, and pick the briars out of your legs; and desire you will pick the briars out of the legs of the Indians that are come here, and anoint one of them with your healing oil, and I will anoint the other." *A string.*

The governor thanked him for his visit and advice, and appointed the next day to begin the conferences.

Sunday, October 8th, the governor of Pennsylvania, with his whole company, met in council the chiefs of the nations, and opened the conferences with a short speech.

"Brethren, it gives me pleasure to see so many of you of so many different nations at this council fire. I bid you heartily welcome. Brethren, with this string I wipe the sweat and dust out of your eyes, that you may see our faces and look cheerful. With this string I take all bitterness from your heart. With this string I take the blood from your council seats, that your clothes may not be stained, nor your minds disturbed." *Three strings.*

After a short pause, Tagashata, the Seneca chief, rose up, and repeating, as usual, every thing the governor said, returned thanks, and went through the same ceremonies to the governors and all in authority. He delivered his belts of invitation, which the nations had received to come to the conferences; and desired to see the belts sent by them in return; which the governor said should be given them; and after all ceremonies had passed, the council broke up for this day.

* The Twightwees are the nations between the Ohio and the lakes, the most remote of all the others, and the most hearty in the French interest. Though they were not present at this treaty of 1758, yet a discreet, sober, religious man named Frederic Post, accompanied by Pisquitomen, Daniel, and Thomas Hickman, Delaware Indians, had been sent among them the preceding year, and had effectually paved the way for a peace; but the preliminaries not being fully settled, they declined meeting till they were waited upon again.

Conrad Weiser, Esq., attended as provincial interpreter.

Captain Mountour, interpreter in the Six Nations and Delaware languages.

Steven Calvin, Isaac Stille, and Moses Tittamy, Delaware Indians, interpreters in that language.

Monday, October 9th. Governor Bernard arrived, and desired a meeting with the Indians to bid them welcome; but was told, that they were in council among themselves.

Tuesday, October 10. The Indians chiefs remained in council all day, and desired the governors not to be impatient.

Wednesday, October 11. This morning the Indian chiefs communicated the business they had been upon to the governor. At four in the afternoon the conferences opened. Tagashata, intending to speak first, had laid some strings upon the table; when Teedyuscung got up, and holding a string, said he had something to deliver.* But governor Bernard signifving his desire to bid the Indians welcome, put an end to the contest. and he was heard.

Governor Bernard. "Brethren, I bid you welcome, and wish the good work of peace may prosper in your hands. Having sent a message some months ago to the Minisinks, I received an answer from our brethren the Senecas and Cayugas, in which they take upon them to speak for the Minisinks. To you, therefore, brethren, I now address myself, and must remind you, that if you are disposed to be our friends for the future, you should return us the captives that have been taken out of our province, and are now within your power. It is not usual for our king's governors to go out of their provinces, to attend treaties of this kind; but I have waived forms to show my good dispositions to restore peace, and settle all manner of differences for the mutual benefit of all parties."

Then Teedyuscung rose up and said, "Brethren, you desire me to call all the nations who live back. Such as have heard my halloo are here present. If you have any thing to say to them, or they to you, sit and talk together. I have nothing to do but to see and hear. I have made known to the governor of Pennsylvania why I struck him, and have made up all differences for our future peace."

A string.

Tagashata, chief of the Senecas. "Brethren, it has pleased the Most High to bring us together with cheerfulness; but as it is now late, I desire to be heard to morrow."

Thursday, October 12. Tagashata. "We approve of what the governor of Jersey said yesterday concerning the Minisinks; they desired us to bring about the good work of peace, have assured us they will deliver up the prisoners, and doubt not but all differences will be made up between them and the province of New Jersey.

"Brethren, I now speak at the request of Teedyuscung, and our nephews the Delawares, living at Wyomink, and on the waters of

* The subject of their conferences was the treaty made by Teedyuscung the year before, who pretended he acted as ambassador for the Six Nations, as well as sachem for four nations of his own. The Six Nations wanted to have canceled that peace as not properly made; but as a general peace was now to be made, the thing was waived, as altogether immaterial.

Susquehannah; they have assured us they will never think of war against their brethren the English any more. *A belt.*

"Brethren, our nephews, the Minisink Indians, have declared the same, and the warriors of the four different tribes of the same nation have entreated us to use our endeavors to make their peace, declaring their sorrow for what they have done at giving this belt. *A belt.*

"Brethren, we the Mohawks, Senecas, and Onondagoes, deliver this string likewise, to remove the hatchet out of your heads, that has been struck into it by the Ohio Indians, in order to lay a foundation for peace." *Eight strings of wampum.*

Tokaaio, chief of the Cayugas. "I speak in behalf of the younger nations, part of and confederated with the Six Nations, namely, the Cayugas, Oneidoes, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Nanticokes, and Conoys. A road has been opened for us to this council fire; but by some misfortune, blood has lately been spilt upon that road. By these strings we wash that blood away, and take the hatchet out of your heads. *Three strings.*

"Brethren, I now speak only for my own nation. I will hide nothing from you; the French, like a thief in the night, have stolen some of our young men, and corrupted them to do mischief. Our chiefs held them fast, but the French artfully unloosed them; we take the hatchet out of your heads with which they have struck you, and are sorry for what they have done." *A belt of ten rows.*

Friday, October 13. Governor Denny. "Brethren, chiefs, and warriors, I invited you down to the council fire, kindled at this place by me and your nephew Teedyuscung. I am now about to communicate to you matters of great consequence, and to answer all that has been said by you to me since our meeting together. I therefore by this string open your ears that you may hear clearly." *A string.*

Here he repeated all that had been said by the chiefs, producing their belts and strings; and then proceeded:

"Brethren, you may remember, that the day before yesterday, your nephew Teedyuscung told me by this string, that he had made me acquainted with the cause why he struck us; that he had given the halloo; that he would sit by, &c.

"Now as there are many of you here who were not present at our former meetings, I think it proper for your information to give a short account of what passed between your nephews the Delawares, and us.

"About three years ago, your brethren the English, living on the borders, were struck of a sudden; many killed, and others carried away captive. We knew not by whom, but sent messengers up the Susquehannah as far as the Six Nations, to inquire from whence the blow came, and for what reason. On the return of these messengers, we were informed, that the Delawares and Shawanese were the aggressors. Some time after this discovery, a cessation of hostilities was brought about; Teedyuscung came down to our council fire, told us the cause of the war was the proprietaries' taking from him by fraud the ground on which we now stand; and that the inducement to begin it, was from the persuasion of the false-hearted French king. At last all blood was wiped away; and Teedyuscung then declared

to us, that he acted in behalf of ten nations, and promised to restore to us all our fellow-subjects that had been carried away prisoners. I desire therefore to know the true reason, why our flesh and blood who are in captivity are withheld from us, and what is become of those belts we gave him to confirm the peace, and that promise; for till that promise is complied with we can never sleep in quiet, or rest satisfied in the friendship of those who detain our children and relations from us." *A belt.*

Governor Bernard. "What the governor has now declared, so far as it relates to my province, I confirm by this." *Belt.*

Here Frederic Post's negotiation with the Ohio Indians was introduced by Pisquitomen, who attended him; and it appearing that three strings of wampum had been returned by them, he was asked to whom they were sent? Pisquitomen replied, one to the governor of Pennsylvania; one to Teedyuscung; and the third to Isaac Pemberton; at which Nichas, the Mohawk chief, rose up and spoke with great vehemence for some time, frequently pointing to Teedyuscung; and Mr. Weiser was desired to interpret what he said, but as it was merely personal, Mr. Weiser referred it to a private conference.

Saturday, October 14. The Indians declined meeting.

Sunday, October 15. At a private conference, Nichas rose up and said, "Brothers, you all know, that our nephew Teedyuscung gives out that he is the great man, and chief of ten nations; now I, on behalf of the Mohawks, say we do not know he is such a great man. If he is such a great man, we desire to know who made him so. Perhaps you have, and if this be the case, tell us so. It may be the French have made him so. We want to inquire and know whence his greatness arose."

Tagashata. "We do not know who made him this great man over ten nations."

Assarandonguas, chief of the Onondagoes. "No such thing was ever said in our towns, as that Teedyuscung was such a great man."

Thomas King, for the Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Conoys. "We, for our parts, entirely disown his having any superiority over us."

Tokaaio, chief of the Cayugas, [addressing himself to the English.] "Brethren, you may remember you said, you could not be easy without your prisoners. We speak from the bottom of our hearts, you shall have them all. You told us a tender father, husband, wife, brother or sister could not sleep sound when they reflected their relations were prisoners; we know it is so with us, and we will therefore make your hearts easy, and give you this belt that we will perform our words." *A belt.*

Nichas confirmed his promise with *A string of seven rows.*

Monday, October 16. Yesterday's private conference was read, and interpreted to Teedyuscung and the Delawares.

Governor Denny. "Brethren, you say we know that Teedyuscung gives out that he is the great man; and by his belt you denied him to be so, and desired to know of me who made him so. I will answer you truly. Soon after the Delawares had struck us, we invited them to meet us at a council fire kindled at this place. At the time

appointed, Teedyuscung came and told us he represented ten nations, his own as chief, and the United Nations as a messenger; we believed what he said, and therefore made him a counsellor and agent for us to publish to the nations what we did at our council fires, and how sincerely we were disposed to peace. But I assure you, I never made Teedyuscung the great man; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed any authority over, but on many occasions spoke of the Six Nations as his uncles and superiors. I never shall attempt to impose a chief on any Indian nation; but on all occasions, will pay due regard to those who are chosen by their countrymen.

"Brethren, by this belt and string you promised to make diligent search in your towns for our flesh and blood, who are prisoners, and return them to us. We have always found you honest and punctual in the performance of your promises; your words therefore give us comfort." *A belt and string.*

Governor Bernard. "I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a man, nor do I know that he is any greater than a chief of the Delaware Indians settled at Wyomink.

"Brethren, you say you will return our prisoners; we hope you will be mindful to engage your nephews to do so too; for which I give you this." *Belt.*

After the governor had done speaking, the Indian chiefs were asked, if they had any thing more to say, on which Tagashata arose, and addressing himself to the Delawares and Minisinks, said:

"Nephews, the governors who sit there, have put you in mind of what was agreed upon last year. You both promised to return the prisoners. We, your uncles, put you in mind of this promise, and desire you will perform it. You have promised it, and you *must* perform it. As soon as you come home, cause this to be done; you know it is an article of the peace for which you have received a belt."

Robert White, the Nanticoke chief, [spoke in English.] "When our cousins the Delawares first took up the hatchet, we invited them to our town of Otsaningo, and persuading them to peace, gave them a belt of a fathom long and twenty-five rows in breadth; but not hearing from our cousins for a long time, we sent them two other belts, one of sixteen, the other of twelve rows, desiring them once more to lay down the hatchet; but still we heard nothing from them. Indeed, some time afterwards we understood the Delawares should say, the Indians at Otsaningo had grey eyes, and were like Englishmen, and should be served in the same manner. As our cousins have been loth to give an answer to these belts, we desire they would let us know in a public conference what they have done with them." *A string.*

Tuesday, October 17. The Indians in council all day.

Wednesday, October 18. Nichas, the Mohawk chief, acquainted the governors, that as counsellors, they had finished; having nothing more to propose at this meeting. The warriors were to speak now, and Thomas King was appointed to deliver their words.

Thomas King, [addressing himself to the governors and all in authority.] "Brethren, you have been desirous to know the true cause of the war, and of the bitterness of our hearts. Look well about you, and you will find you gave the first offense. In time of pro-

found peace, some of the Shawanese, passing through South Carolina to go to war with their enemies, as their yearly custom is, were persuaded in a friendly manner into your houses, deceitfully and unjustifiably dragged to prison, where one, who was a head man, lost his life, and the others were severely used. This first raised ill-will in the minds of the Shawanese; the French aggravated the offense; put the hatchet into their hands to revenge the blood of their brother; they besought the Delawares to join them to make the blow fall the heavier; and by degrees the young men among us were stirred up to vengeance.

"Brethren, this was the case of the Shawanese. Another of the like nature happened about three years ago to the Senecas, when eight of their warriors were returning from war, with seven prisoners and scalps with them, through Virginia; these, at a place called Green Briar, met a party of soldiers, not less than one hundred and fifty, who kindly invited them to a certain store, and said they would supply them with provisions; two days they traveled with them in a friendly manner; but when they came to the house on the third, they began to disarm them; the head man cried out, "Here is death, defend yourselves!" Two of them were killed on the spot, and one, a boy, was taken prisoner. As this was upon the warriors' road in time of profound peace, judge ye of the degree of provocation. Brethren, you have justly demanded your prisoners; it is right so to do; and, if this unhappy boy is alive, as we have reason to think he is, we desire you may return him. If he is dead, we are content. His name is Squissatago. *Six strings of wampum.*

"Brethren, the cause why the Indians at Ohio left you was owing to yourselves; when we heard of the French coming there, we desired the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to supply us with implements and necessaries for war, and we would defend our lands; but these governors disregarded our message; the French came to us; traded with our people; used them kindly; and gained their affections. The governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit; but when we wanted his assistance he forsook us.

A belt.

"Brother, [addressing himself to the governor of Jersey] our cousins the Minisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English settling so fast upon them, so as not to know whether they have any lands or no. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild creatures, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel a single tree. Surely, this is hard. You take of us what lands you please, and the cattle you raise on them are your own; but those that are wild are still ours, and should be common to both; for our nephews, when they sold the land, did not propose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood. We desire you, the governor, to take this matter into your care, and see justice done to the Minisinks." *Two strings of wampum.*

Addressing himself to the governor of Pennsylvania, he said, "Brother, we must put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at Albany a large tract of land, for a part of which, that was settled, the

proprietaries' agents then paid one thousand pieces of eight. We acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase; but for the other part that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council; in the deed our hunting grounds are included, and without them we must perish."

Three strings.

The Six Nation chiefs being asked if they had any thing farther to say, answered, they had done.

Teedyuscung. "About three years ago, nine of my countrymen were killed near Goshan in time of peace, for no other reason than because they were hunting upon that land; one of their brethren assures me, that he then went with tears in his eyes to George Freeland, and presented him with three belts to have the matter cleared up; but has never received an answer to this day. I give you this string to inquire what is become of these belts.

Three strings of white wampum.

"Brethren, I have already acquainted you with my grievances. I told you that the proprietaries had wronged me, and I referred my cause to the great king; now I desire to know if king George has yet decided that matter between you and me. I do not mention my uncles' lands; only what we the Delawares own as far as the heads of the Delaware." *A belt.*

Teedyuscung then took up another belt, intending to speak to his uncles the United Nations; but whilst he was speaking, as above, the chiefs had one after another left the council, seemingly much displeased; he therefore held his peace.

Thursday, October 19. At a private council, governor Bernard, after reciting the request of the United Nations to take the case of the Minisinks under his care, said, that as the people of New Jersey declared, they had bought all the Minisinks' lands, and the Minisinks said they had a great deal unsold, he could not tell which was in the right; but would suppose the Minisinks; he therefore desired the mediation of the United Nations, and left it to them to propose a reasonable sum by way of satisfaction, of which he desired they would consider and give an answer. The United Nations said it was a kind proposal, and recommended it to the consideration of the Minisinks.

Teedyuscung waited on governor Denny at his house, and acquainted him, that his nation did not claim lands high up the Dela ware river; those, he said, belonged to his uncles; of which he desired the governor to take notice, that no misunderstanding might arise from what has been said at the public council.

Friday, October 20. Governor Denny desired to know of Teedyuscung, if he proposed to speak, as the abrupt departure of the Six Nations chiefs had interrupted his discourse the day before.

Teedyuscung. "Uncles, according to ancient custom, we used to speak one to another at home; but now I must speak to you in the presence of the English governors. You may remember that you have placed us at Wyomink and Shamokin, places where Indians have lived before. Now I hear since, that you have sold that land

to our brethren the English; let this matter be now cleared up. I sit like a bird on a bough. I look about and do not know where I may be driven to. Let me therefore come down upon the ground, and make that my own by a deed, and I shall have a home for ever; for if you, my uncles, or I die, our brethren the English will say they have bought it from you, and so wrong my posterity out of it."

A belt.

Governor Denny then requested the attention of all the Indians. Addressing himself to the chiefs and warriors of the United Nations and their nephews, he repeated distinctly all their complaints in the order they were delivered. He thanked them for declaring the true cause of the bitterness of their hearts; and said he would join with them in endeavoring to prevent the like evils for the future; he promised to make inquiry concerning the Seneca boy, and if alive, to return him; he assured them, that the proprietaries cheerfully agree to release all that part of the purchase reclaimed, and desired they might settle the boundaries to their own satisfaction; he acknowledged their justice in promising to return the prisoners. And then addressing himself to the chiefs of the United Nations, he said, "Providence has brought you and your nephews together at this meeting, face to face with us, that every thing may be settled, so as no doubt may remain to create any uneasiness in our hearts hereafter. You know, brethren, there is an old agreement between the proprietaries and you, that you will not sell any of the lands lying within this province to any but them, and they never take possession of lands till they have bought them of Indians; you know also, that the United Nations have sold lands to the proprietaries, which your nephews the Delawares now claim as their right. This is the case with regard to some part of the lands which Teedyuscung, in your hearing, said the proprietaries had defrauded him of. The proprietaries are desirous of doing strict justice to all the Indians; but it cannot be supposed they can know in which of you the right is vested. This is a matter that must be settled among yourselves, and till it is done, there will probably remain some jealousy and discontent amongst you, that may interrupt both your and our future quiet." *A string.*

He concluded with telling them, that stores of all sorts of goods had been opened at Shamokin, where they might be supplied on the most reasonable terms, and have the best price for their peltry; and that another was intended to be opened for them at Fort Allen.

A string.

After the governor had done speaking, Tagashata and Nichas arose, and said in some heat, they did not rightly understand what the governor meant by settling matters about lands among themselves. He left things in the dark; if he meant the lands on the other side of the mountains, he knew the proprietaries had their deeds for them, which ought to be produced and showed to them. Their deeds had their marks, and when they should see them, they would know their marks.

Governor Bernard rose, and said he had something to say to them; they replied, they chose to be spoken to by one governor at a time; and called for the deed, which being produced, Nichas said, "This deed

we well remember, we sold the land; the land was ours, and we will justify it." The conference then broke up.

Teedyuscung having, on the 19th, requested the governor that two belts, which he then presented to him, might be sent as their joint belts to the Ohio Indians, the United Nations had this day a meeting with Teedyuscung and two of the governors' council, about the answer that was to be sent back to those Indians· which being settled and approved, the Indian chiefs were asked if the Ohio Indians might not be desired to take up the hatchet and join general Forbes against the French. Their answer was: By no means. Their wounds were not yet healed, nor peace confirmed; their warriors were not yet called home; they might kill their own flesh and blood; let it suffice to advise them to sit still; and that advice, they said, will be hearkened to. They then desired that two white inhabitants might accompany Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman, the two messengers, to the Ohio Indians, and promised themselves to send the like number. Teedyuscung said he would send one.

Saturday, October 21. At a private conference, governor Bernard proposed to settle the claims of the Minisinks; and having asked the advice of the United Nations, Thomas King said, that they the Six Nations had no claim to those lands, and should therefore leave the price to themselves. The Minisinks desired to know what the governor was willing to give; and he having named the sum of eight hundred Spanish dollars, as an extraordinary price, the United Nations, by Thomas King, said that it was an honorable offer; but in regard that many persons were to share in the purchase money, they recommended it to his excellency to add two hundred dollars more, the report of which would be carried to all the nations, and would be very agreeable to them. The governor, after paying a polite compliment to the chiefs as mediators, cheerfully complied; and then Tagashata rose up and said:

"Nephews, now you must remember the friendship between you and your brethren the English, and transmit it to your children, and make them acquainted with the transactions of this day. It should seem that your grandfathers forgot the treaties they used to make with their brethren, and buried them with them in the grave. Give over all further thoughts of your lands, and take care that your young men do no more violence to their brethren the English."

The Egohohowen (the Minisink chief) addressed himself to the governor, and said: "We are now satisfied, and we still retain a friendship for the English; and we desire that if we should come into your province to see our old friends, and should have occasion for the bark of a tree to cover a cabin, or a little refreshment, that we should not be denied, but be treated as brethren; and that your people may not look on the wild beasts of the forest, or fish of the water, as their sole property, but that we may be admitted to an equal use of them."

The governor answered, that as soon as he got home, he should notify the peace through all the provinces by proclamation; but desired the Indians might not go into those parts where they had so lately committed hostilities, till the passions of the people were cool-

ed; for that he could not answer for his people's behavior, while their sufferings were fresh upon their minds.

This day, at a meeting of the United Nations with the Delawares their nephews, about settling the deed in dispute, the members of the Pennsylvanian council were invited to be present; when Teedyuscung rose up, and said: "We have seen the deed for the lands beyond the Kittochtinny hills, and acknowledge its validity; our chief, Nutimus, remembers it, and received forty-four dollars for his share of the purchase money; but this is not the land that I have disputed with my brethren the English; that land lies between Tohiccon creek and the Kittochtinny hills." *A string.*

Tokaaio and the Six Nations chiefs stood up and said: "Cousin, I thank you for your openness and honesty, in freely acknowledging the truth. I wish the governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, and Jersey, were so honest and precise. They have called us down to a council fire, to brighten the chain of friendship; but our time is taken up in a fruitless dispute about lands, *without coming to the main point.* The English first began to do mischief; we told them so, they only thanked us for our frankness, but they healed no wounds. In short, when they speak to us, they do it with a shorter belt and string than that which we speak to them with, though they can make wampum, and we cannot. They ought not thus to treat with Indians in council affairs. Several of our strong belts are lost in their hands. I fear they speak only from their mouth, and not from their heart."

Sunday, October 22. The Six Nations chiefs held a private council, and named two of their people to send to the Ohio. Frederic Post arrived with the news from general Forbes, that a large body of French and Indians having attacked his advanced post at Loyal Hanning, were repulsed with great loss, which loss he communicated to the Indians.

Monday, October 23. Governor Denny. "Brethren, by this belt we heal your wounds, we remove your grief, we take the hatchet out of your heads, we make a deep hole in the earth, and bury the hatchet so low, that nobody shall be able to dig it up again. *A belt.*

"Brethren, now we have healed your wounds; we, by this belt, renew all our treaties; we brighten the chain of friendship; we return to our first affection; we confirm our ancient union; we put fresh earth to the roots of the tree of peace, that it may bear up against every storm that can blow, and live and flourish to the end of time, whilst the sun shines and the rivers run. And we desire you to publish this to all the nations, your friends and allies.

A large peace belt.

"Brethren, we now open a road to the old council fire at Philadelphia, and be assured we shall always be glad to see you there.

A belt.

"Brethren, this treaty will convince all our enemies, that we are now united in the firmest band of amity, and while we join our strength together, it will not be in their power to hurt either you or us.

A belt.

"Brethren, as a token of our love, we present you with a quantity

of goods,* and desire your acceptance of them; sensible of the approaching season, and of the many difficulties you live under from the present war, we give it with a hearty good will.

"Brother Teedyuscung, you put me in mind of your having referred your dispute to the great king, and you desired to know if he has decided it; you may depend upon it, that as soon as his answer can be obtained, it shall be communicated to you." *A belt.*

Then governor Bernard, requesting the attention of the Indians, acquainted them, that in consequence of their advice, he had come to a full agreement with the Minisinks, for all the lands in dispute on the part of this province, to which he desired they would pay a particular regard, that the remembrance of it might never be forgotten. *A belt.*

Then addressing himself to Teedyuscung, he said: The nine men killed at Goshan, of which he had justly complained, were not in his province; the three belts he would make inquiry about of the governor of New York, and would send him an answer. He added, that the fact had been blamed by all good and wise men. *A string.*

Governor Denny, being obliged to return to Philadelphia, took his leave, assuring them of his affection, and wishes for their happiness.

Teedyuscung desired to be heard on behalf of the Wappinger Indians, living near Esopus, and produced a short belt of white wampum with a double heart, which was given them by the government of New York, in 1745, representing their union, which, he said, was to last as long as the sun should continue in the firmament; he therefore recommended them to the protection of governor Bernard; and as their chief was old, he requested a horse to carry him home, which was granted.

The Six Nations chiefs consulted together, and, in a little time, Nichas, in behalf of the rest, returned answers to the governors' speeches, repeating distinctly what each of them had said, and expressing the highest satisfaction.

Tuesday, October 24. The proprietaries' agents settled the limits of the lands to be released with the Indian chiefs; and the deed of confirmation, as well as that of release, were respectively executed.

Wednesday, October 25. The Indians were employed all day in dividing the presents.

Thursday, October 26. The secretary of the conferences having observed to the Six Nations chiefs, that the governors were charged by Tokaaio with *not coming to the point*, by which it was understood, that some things had been omitted in their answers, Thomas King said, they were afterwards supplied; but for the fuller satisfac-

* Three groce narrow starred gartering; 56 ditto, various sorts; 33 looking-glasses; 12 pieces red stroud; 15 ditto, blue; 1 ditto, black; 1 red; 1 blue; 2 ditto, 6 quarter blue duffil; 2 ditto, 7-8ths; 1 ditto, napped; 1 ditto, stamped serge; 1 ditto, red half-thicks; 1 brown half-thicks; 2 ditto, white; 1 ditto, blue broad cloth; 5 laced coats, 8 plain; 50 pair of shoes; 37 pair of women's worsted stockings; 12 ditto, yarn; 2 pieces and 2 Bandanoe handkerchiefs; 1 ditto, Lungee romals; 1 ditto, cotton romals; 4 ditto, nonso pretties; 8 lbs. colored thread; 46 worsted caps; 2 dozen of knives; 1 dozen of tobacco boxes; 5 pieces of linen handkerchiefs; 4 ditto, figured gartering; 46 plain hats; 24 tailors' shears; 6 gun locks; 1 bunch of black leads; 3 and a half groce of sleeve buttons; 48 ivory combs; 1 groce of thimbles; 100 blankets; 160 watch coats; 246 shirts, plain; and 187 ditto, ruffled.

tion of all present, he recommended a farther explanation: agreeable to which, the members of the Pennsylvania council made the following addition to the governor's speech.

"Brethren, as we have now settled all differences, and confirmed the ancient leagues of amity, and brightened the chain of friendship, we now clean the blood off your council seats, that when you hold councils at home, you may sit as you formerly used to do in your seats with the same peace and tranquillity.

A string of one thousand grains of wampum.

"Brethren, with this string of wampum we condole with you for the loss of your wise men, and for the warriors that have been killed these troublesome times, and likewise for your women and children; and we cover the graves decently, agreeable to the custom of your forefathers." *A string as before.*

"Brethren, we disperse the dark clouds that hang over your heads, during these troubles, that we may see the sun clear, and look on each other with the cheerfulness our forefathers did." *The same.*

The Five Nations chiefs having laid all the belts and strings on the table that were delivered at this and the last conference, Tokaio desired all present to hearken to what Thomas King was going to say; on which Thomas King arose, and taking up the belt given by Teedyuscung, when he requested the grant of the Wyomink lands, he addressed the Delawares, Teedyuscung not been present, in this manner. "Cousins, by this belt, Teedyuscung desired us to make you owners of the lands of Wyomink, Shamokin, and other places on the Susquehannah river. In answer to which, we who are here at present, say that we have no power to convey lands to any one; but we will take your request to the great council fire, for their sentiments, as we never convey or sell any lands, before it be agreed in the great council of the United Nations. In the mean time you may use those lands in common with other Indians, in confirmation of which we give you this." *A string.*

Then taking up each belt and string, he proceeded to repeat what had been said upon each, approved of all that had passed, and made particular mention of the large peace belt, which, he said, should be made known to the nations. Then addressing himself to governor Bernard, he thanked him for his kind assistance at this treaty, which, he said, the United Nations would remember with pleasure.——— After a pause, he desired to be excused in mentioning one thing, which he believed the governors had forgot. "You have" said he, "forgot to bring with you ammunition, of which we always used to receive a sufficient quantity, not only to serve us our journey, but to support us in our hunting season, that we might be enabled to make provisions for our families. You have given us gun locks, but no guns; it is impossible for Indians to subsist without guns, powder, and lead, of which we have received none."

He then took up the proprietaries' release, and returned thanks for it. When it was referred to Onas, "The United Nations," he said, "had no doubt but Onas would grant their request; this act has confirmed our good opinion of him."

Having now finished what the nations had commissioned him to

say, he cast his eyes round the room, and seeing Mr. Vernon, the clerk of the stores, he desired, that now council business was over, the lock might be taken off the rum, that it might run freely, and the hearts of all be made glad at parting.

Some wine and punch was then ordered in, and the conference concluded with great joy and mutual satisfaction.

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN TRIBES.

From Drake's Indian Biography, a work of great interest and immense merit.

Abenakies, near Three Rivers, in Canada; in number about 150, in 1780; in 1689, about 200.

Absorokas, or Crow Indians, on the Missouri, near the Rocky Mountains.

Adirondaks, on the St. Lawrence; numerous in 1607; in 1786, about 100.

Ajoues, south of the Missouri, and north of the Padoucas; 1100 in 1760.

Amalistes, formerly on the St. Lawrence; about 500 in 1760.

Apalachicolas, on the river of that name; in 1835, about 340; have agreed to emigrate; about 260 have gone west of the Mississippi.

Arrapahas, now about 4000, about the sources of the Kanzas river.

Assinnaboins, now about 1000, on Ottowa river; reduced by the Sioux.

Attikamegues, in the north of Canada; destroyed by disease in 1670.

Aughquagas, on the east branch of the Susquehannah river; 150 in 1768.

Bedies, on Trinity river, about 60 miles southward of Nacogdoches; 100.

Big Devil Indians, Yonktons of the Plains, 2500; heads of the Red river.

Blackfeet, various warlike bands about the sources of the Missouri, and in the region of the Rocky Mountains; estimated in 1834 at 30,000.

Blanches, or Bearded Indians, white Indians on upper southern branches Missouri; 1500 in 1760.

Brothertons, in New York, near Oneida lake; now (1836) supposed to number 350.

Caddoes, in 1717, a powerful nation on Red river; now reckoned at 800.

Caiwas, near the heads of the Arkansas; neither brave nor generous.

Camanches, or *Comanches*, a warlike and numerous race on the confines of Texas.

[To be continued.]

EARLY INCIDENTS OF BUFFALO—BUFFALO HARBOR.

NUMBER III.

Although the pier had been successfully extended over nine hundred feet, and was believed to be sufficiently strong to resist the force of the waves, still it was but an experiment. The situation was the most exposed of any on the lake, and no similar work had been constructed. Should the whole, or any considerable part of the work be destroyed by the gales of wind, or by the ice, the fund remaining would be insufficient to repair the damage, and extend the work to the requisite distance to make a harbor. Should the experiment on the pier prove never so successful, a most difficult part of the plan for forming a harbor was yet to be executed, and the more difficult because the expense would depend on contingencies which the company could not control.

Buffalo creek, in 1820, entered the lake about sixty rods north of its present mouth, running for some distance nearly parallel with the shore. A new channel had to be made across the point of sand, which separates the creek from the lake. This point was about twenty rods wide, and elevated about seven feet above the lake. It was proposed to remove the sand by scrapers to the level of low water, dam the mouth of the creek by brush and stone, and trust to the action of a spring flood to form a straight channel in a line with, and near to, the pier. The scraping was commenced in November, by the voluntary labor of several of the citizens; but instead of finding the point composed of fine sand, as had been expected, when a few feet of the top was removed, a heavy compact body of coarse gravel and small stones was found, which, if removed by the current of the creek, instead of being carried into deep water in the lake, would be deposited to the leeward of the pier, in the very place our channel must be, and from whence there was neither money nor machinery to remove it. The scraping was therefore given up, and the subject of forming a new channel, proving a very serious one, laid over for further consideration, in the expectation that some plan could be devised to overcome the seemingly insurmountable difficulty. The company had the satisfaction to see the fall gales pass away without doing any damage to the pier, not even removing a single timber, and it was loaded with so great a body of ice, that no apprehension was entertained of damage from the breaking up of the lake in the spring.

Favorable contracts were made during the winter for square timber,

and ties to complete the pier; and as it was sufficiently extended to protect the pile-driving scow, and as the use of this machine would be important in farther prosecuting the work, it was determined to finish it. A hammer and gearing however were wanting. These had been contracted for in Ohio, but, owing to a misunderstanding, had not being received. The iron gearing could be dispensed with, and a good substitute for a hammer was found in a United States mortar, used during the last war, but which had lost one of its trunnions. After breaking off the other, two holes were bored through the end for the staple by which to hoist it. The ends of the staple projecting into the chamber were bent, and the chamber itself filled with metal. Similar holes were bored on each side, and two bars of iron between two and three inches square firmly secured to act as guides. The hollow part being filled with a hard piece of wood, cut off even with the end, it proved to be an excellent hammer of about two thousand pounds weight. The machinery to raise the hammer was of the cheapest and simplest kind, and worked by a single horse.

Before attempting the farther extension of the pier, it was resolved to attempt the formation of the new channel. About the 20th of May, laborers were engaged, and the pile-driver put in operation. Two rows of piles six feet apart were driven across the creek, in a line with the right bank of the intended channel, and the space between these rows of piles was filled with fine brush, straw, damaged hay, shavings, &c. This material was pressed down by drift logs, which were hoisted into their places by the use of the pile-driver. On the upper side of the work, a body of sand was placed, making a cheap and tolerably tight dam, by which the creek could be raised about three feet. Then by breaking the bank at the west end of the dam, a current was formed sufficiently strong to remove about fifteen feet of the adjoining bank to the depth of eight feet. The success of the first experiment was most gratifying. The dam was extended across the new made channel, and connected with the bank, with the least possible delay, and every dam full of water let off removed hundreds of yards of gravel, and deposited it not only entirely out of the way, but at the same time filled up the old channel. While this plan was in successful operation, and when the new channel had been pushed to within a few feet of the lake, and the strongest hopes were entertained, that by the same process the sand and gravel even under the shoal water of the lake could be removed, and the channel extended to the end of the pier, and the harbor rendered immediately available, the work was arrested by one of the most extraordinary rises of the lake perhaps ever witnessed. About seven o'clock in the

morning, the lake being entirely calm, the water suddenly rose, and by a single swell swept away the logs that secured the materials in the dam, broke away the dam on the east side, wholly destroyed the west end which was made of plank, and left the whole a total wreck.

A more discouraging scene can scarcely be imagined. The pile-driving scow, without which the damage could not be repaired, narrowly escaped destruction. The blind horse which worked the pile-driver, was thrown from his platform on the scow, and, swimming in his accustomed circle, came near drowning. All the lumber, timber, piles prepared for use, with the boats, scows, and every floating article within the range of the swell, were swept from their places and driven up the creek.

It was afterwards ascertained that an extraordinary vein of wind had crossed the lake a few miles above this place, and proceeding eastward, prostrated the timber in its course, and marked its way with fearful destruction. This was supposed to have caused the swell referred to.

NUMBER IV.

After securing the scows, boats and lumber which had been put afloat, the condition of the dam was examined. About thirty feet of the east end was entirely gone, and the injury to other parts was greater than was at first anticipated. Before the examination was completed, a northeast wind commenced blowing, accompanied by a heavy rain, and appearances indicated its continuance.

Although a flood had been wished for, to aid in deepening and widening the new channel, yet the disastrous accident which had just occurred, destroyed the only means of controling it, and turning it to account. A freshet then, might open the old channel, or perhaps enlarge the new one in a wrong direction, and even undermine the pier. It was therefore resolved to repair the damage if possible. The pile-driver was put in operation to restore the breach at the east end of the dam, and the men set to work to collect materials; but the rain increasing, and the weather being uncommonly cold, it was soon discovered that without a large additional force the dam could not be so far repaired as to resist the flood, which might be expected within twenty-four hours. The recent disaster and the importance of immediate help was communicated to the citizens, a large number of whom, notwithstanding the rain fell in torrents, repaired to the dam. They were distributed in parties, some getting brush, others collecting logs, some placing the materials in the dam, while others aided in working the pile-driver. Their labor was continued during

the day except a few minutes relaxation for dinner, which consisted of bread and beer, and was taken standing, in the rain. Without this help of the citizens, it would have been impossible to make the necessary repairs on the dam; with it, and by continuing the labor of the harbor workmen by torch light until late at night, all was done that human effort could do to prepare for the flood. The men retired to rest, after having been exposed to the rain, cold and water, for more than twelve hours. Besides securing the dam, a few piles had been driven in the lake across the line of the proposed channel in about five feet water, against which several large sycamore logs were secured by chains, and loaded with stone. This was done with the view of protecting the pier, and turning the current, and with it the sand and gravel, down the lake out of the way of the harbor.

The rain having continued through the night, in the morning the flood was magnificent. The strong northeast wind which had prevailed for nearly twenty-four hours had lowered the lake two or three feet, and added much to the effect of the water in forming a new channel. The barrier erected had produced the desired effect, the gravel removed out of the new channel was carried down the lake, and in fact the whole operation was so favorable, that it seemed as though Providence had directed this flood in aid of the great work of forming a harbor.

The breaking up of the dam had disheartened the men, and their extraordinary efforts to repair the damage had exhausted them; but a day's rest, and witnessing the triumphant success of the plan for opening a channel, restored them to cheerfulness. The doubts and fears that were entertained of ultimate success in making a harbor, were dissipated. When the freshet had subsided, it was found that the average width of the new channel was about ninety feet at the bottom, and for the first twelve rods it was as deep as the creek, and no where less than five feet, furnishing a straight channel. The quantity of sand and gravel that had been removed by the agency of the water in twenty-four days, was nearly or quite twenty thousand yards, to remove which by artificial means would have required a greater amount of money than all the harbor fund.

From this time, small vessels could enter and depart from Buffalo harbor without interruption, and the entry of two or three small vessels in a day, excited more interest then, than the arrival of a hundred large vessels and boats would now.

Much yet remained to be done. The lines of piles in extension of the dam were continued, and filled up with brush and stone, intended to form a permanent margin for the north bank of Buffalo

creek. This work was extended forty-six rods from the east bank of the creek, the dam was strengthened, the number of men increased, and preparations made for recommencing the pier. On a careful examination and measurement of the water, it was found that the pier, if extended in the direction of that already built, would require to be carried out much farther than had been anticipated. The calculation of the company as to the length of the pier, had been predicated on the survey of Mr. Peacock, and the fact was not known to them, that the water had fallen after the time that survey was made. This discovery was the more embarassing, as the company had become satisfied that they would be unable, with the fund provided, to complete the pier, even to the extent at first contemplated, and it had been resolved to apply to the citizens for aid, which was subsequently done. Scrip was issued, entitling the bearer to a pro rata interest in the harbor. Over a thousand dollars of this scrip was disposed of, for a small part of which, cash was received, but the greater part was received in goods, &c. However small this sum may appear at this day, it was then deemed very liberal, and it gave judge Townsend, who negociated this matter, no little trouble to raise even that amount.

For the sums thus advanced, no consideration was ever received by the holders of the scrip, and perhaps some of them, to whom no explanation has been made, may have felt themselves aggrieved. For the satisfaction of such, it may be well here to state how this business was closed. The act of the legislature creating the Buffalo Harbor Company, and making the loan, provided that if the legislature did not accept the harbor, it should be, and remain, the property of the company, and that the canal commissioners should settle the rate of tolls to be paid by all boats and vessels entering it. The issue of the scrip was predicated on this provision; and it was believed that if the state accepted the harbor, they would willingly pay the extra cost of its construction, over and above the loan of the twelve thousand dollars, (which was to be cancelled.) This no doubt would have been done but for the provision of a law passed in the spring of 1822, entitled "An act for encouraging the construction of harbors at Buffalo and Black Rock." This act provided to pay the two harbor companies, Buffalo and Black Rock, each twelve thousand dollars on completing their harbors, thus limiting the sum to the amount already loaned to the Buffalo Harbor Company, and cutting off all hope of remuneration from the state, for any amount that might be expended beyond that sum.

The object to be attained by this singular law, is connected with

the history of another subject, which may yet be given to the public, and which will disclose the reason, why the canal commissioners declined to accept the harbor for the state. The company could not retain the harbor as private property, and impose tolls on vessels entering it, without driving the business to a rival port. Application was therefore made in the spring of 1825 to the legislature, which passed a resolution to cancel the bonds and mortgages given to secure the loan, but refused to allow the claim for the additional sum expended; which sum included not only the money received for the scrip, but several hundred dollars advanced by Townsend, Forward and Wilkeson, beside contributions by other individuals.

A CASE OF SIGNAL BARBARITY.

It is related by Black Hawk, in his life, that some time before the war of 1812, one of the Indians had killed a Frenchman at Prairie des Chiens. "The British soon after took him prisoner, and said they would shoot him next day! His family were encamped a short distance below the mouth of the Ouisconsin. He begged permission to go and see them that night, as he was *to die the next day!* They permitted him to go, after promising to return the next morning by sunrise. He visited his family, which consisted of a wife and six children. I cannot describe their meeting and parting, to be understood by the whites; as it appears that their feelings are acted upon by certain rules laid down by their *preachers!*—Whilst ours are governed only by the monitor within us. He parted from his wife and children, hurried through the prairie to the fort, and arrived in time! The soldiers were ready, and immediately *marched out and shot him down!!*"—If this were not cold-blooded, deliberate murder, on the part of the whites, I have no conception of what constitutes that crime. What were the circumstances of the murder we are not informed; but whatever they may have been, they cannot excuse a still greater barbarity. I would not by any means be understood to advocate the cause of a murderer; but I would ask, whether crime is to be prevented *by crime:* murder for murder is only a brutal retaliation, except where the safety of a community requires the sacrifice.—*Drake.*

Self Esteem.—A white man, meeting an Indian, accosted him as brother. The red man, with a great expression of meaning in his countenance, inquired how they came to be brothers; the white man replied, O, by way of Adam, I suppose. The Indian added, "*Me thank him Great Spirit we no nearer brothers.*"

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY.

1607. Fort George settled.
1608. Fort George abandoned.
De Mont's monopoly of the fur trade revoked.
Smith taken prisoner by the Indians, and saved by Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan—she was ten or twelve years old.
Champlain settles at Quebec, which was the first permanent settlement of Lower Canada.
1609. Smith explores the Chesapeake bay; is disabled by an explosion of gunpowder, and returns home, leaving Piercy in his place.
Champlain, at the head of the Huron Indians from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, invades the Iroquois or Five Nations in the north of New York.
1610. Great distress, famine, pestilence and death in the colony.
Sir Thomas Gates arrived, and from the urgency of the colonists concluded to abandon Jamestown, which was done one day when they met the long boats of lord Delaware, and returned. He brought supplies, and June 10, restored the colony.
1611. The health of lord Delaware failed, and sir Thomas Dale sent to take charge of the colony.
De Bruncourt and Father Biart, explored the coast as far as the Kenebeck, and ascended that river. Father Biart introduced the Christian religion to the natives, and they made the Indian tribes between the Kenebeck and Penobscot, the allies of France, and thus placed them in a hostile attitude to the encroachments of the English.
1613. Fort on mount Derest island, at the mouth of the Penobscot, built, and thus the French take possession of Maine.
John Rolf married to Pocahontas.
Samuel Argall asserts the right of England to Maine.
1614. Smith explored New England.
The Dutch settle New York. The country they called New Netherlands, and the city New Amsterdam.
Gates went to England, and left sir Thomas Dale in command of the colony in Virginia.
1615. Tobacco first cultivated by the colony in Virginia.
Champlain's second expedition against the Iroquois—is wounded, repulsed, and left destitute.

Comic.—An Indian having been found frozen to death, an inquest of his countrymen was convened to determine by what means he came to such a death. Their verdict was, "Death from the freezing of a great quantity of water inside of him, which they were of opinion he had drunken for rum."

MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

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MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

[See Frontispiece.]

It cannot fail to interest the lover of American prosperity to trace the rise and progress of the means of education, not only in the West, but in the whole Union. It would be a delightful task for us to be enabled to do for other institutions of learning what Mr. Naylor has enabled us to do for the Miami University.

Oxford, Ohio, April 26, 1842.

Mr. Editor,—In compliance with a recent request, you have promptly furnished me with the numbers of the "American Pioneer," the perusal of which I find to be both entertaining and instructive. I am much pleased with the plan and object of the Pioneer. Such a periodical was greatly needed, and I sincerely hope that you will be amply rewarded for your pains and labor, by receiving a liberal patronage, such as your valuable periodical deserves. And if we love our country; if we know the value of liberty, and remember what it cost; if we feel any sentiments of gratitude to, and wish to cherish and perpetuate the memory of our patriot fathers, to whom we are so much indebted for both civil and religious liberty, surely we will be willing to contribute our mite to sustain and promote so praise-worthy an object. As you propose collecting and publishing facts relative to the state and progress of literature in the West, as well as other subjects, I thought perhaps a few historical facts would be acceptable to the readers of the "Pioneer," relative to the origin and rapid progress of

MIAMI UNIVERSITY,

located at Oxford, Butler county, Ohio. For most of the following facts, I acknowledge my obligations to Charles Anderson, Esq., of Dayton, Ohio.

The first thing which attracts the attention of one reviewing the history of this institution, is that the original design of those who gave life to this university, was part of a great national scheme for the settlement and civilization of the great North Western Territory. Although many of our fathers enjoyed but little education, yet they

knew its value ; they knew, and acted upon the principle, that "learning is power," and that an intelligent and virtuous people will not lose their liberties: neither can an ignorant and degraded people preserve them. Therefore we need not think it strange, that the first emigrants to these western wilds should desire to make provision for the moral and intellectual culture of their posterity, and that they considered this object worthy of the nation's liberality. It is to the benevolence and beneficence of those philanthropic "pioneers," who first opened these dense forests to the light of the sun, that we are indebted for the radiations of literature, science and religion which we, their children, enjoy.

As early as 1787, the congress of the confederation passed an order to secure to the uses of learning, certain portions of the public lands.

In the same year, John Cleves Symmes petitioned congress to sell to him and his associates, all the land between the two Miamies, from the Ohio river northward, to a specified line. After some altercations in September, 1794, president Washington, by the authority of a previous act of congress, conveyed to Symmes and Co., by patent, so much land, as, by the fixed bounds before mentioned, and by such a north line, as, within them, would contain three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres of land at sixty-six cents per acre. In this patent, the president stipulated that one entire township of land, to be located, with the consent of the governor of the North West Territory, as near as might be to the centre of the tract conveyed to Symmes and Co., should be held in trust, for the exclusive purpose of erecting and establishing therein an academy, and other public seminaries of learning.

But from too long neglect on the part of the settlers, or from some other cause, the township could not be obtained within said purchase, for the above named purposes; whereupon, the territorial legislature passed a resolution, September 16, 1799, instructing general William Henry Harrison, then the delegate to congress for the North West Territory, to endeavor to procure from congress other lands, in lieu of those sold by Symmes. This effort proved unsuccessful. A similar application was again made by the convention which formed the state constitution, through their agent, general T. Worthington, to which congress favorably responded. Another township was granted, to be selected from any of the unsold lands in the state of Ohio, within the district of Cincinnati, to be subject to a reversion to the United States, provided that within five years from the passage of the act, a township should have been secured, situated as originally

contemplated, within the bounds of the purchase of Symmes, which was never accomplished. Whereupon, the Ohio legislature, on April 15, 1803, appointed Jeremiah Morrow, Jacob White and William Ludlow commissioners to locate the township. On the 1st September, 1803, these gentlemen selected and entered those lands now held by the institution, containing twenty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-one acres.

On the 17th of February, 1809, the legislature of Ohio formally established the MIAMI UNIVERSITY, by a charter which created the offices of the trustees and of the faculty, appointed the former, defines their duties and regulates the government of the lands, funds, and of the institution itself. These preliminaries being settled, some difficulty arose with regard to the location of the college, some wanting it near, others, at some distance from the college lands.

But this matter was soon settled, by the interposition of the legislature, which directed the trustees to lay out a town, and to locate the site within the university lands. The trustees met accordingly at Hamilton, in March, 1810; passed an ordinance regulating the leasing of the lands, and made the location where the university now stands, one of the most eligible, beautiful and salubrious points within the district or country. Such are the principal facts relative to the early history of the institution. The lands and lots were leased by January 20, 1820, at six per cent. on minimum prices, varying from two dollars and fifty cents to eight dollars per acre; all since reduced to three dollars per acre.

The quit-rents amount to five thousand and two dollars and four cents, or to six per cent. on a principal of eighty-four thousand dollars.

In 1811 and 1812, one hundred and sixty dollars were appropriated for the purpose of erecting a large school house on the college square. In 1812 two acres were cleared at an expense of twenty-five dollars, for a site for the university. Another story was afterwards added to the school house, and it was fitted up for a mansion for the president, at a cost of one thousand two hundred dollars. On the 21st of October, 1817, a committee was appointed to prepare materials for building a wing to the college, forty by fifty-six feet. This is now "Franklin Hall,"—it was completed in 1818, at a cost of six thousand one hundred and sixty-seven dollars.

Centre building, eighty-six by sixty feet, was begun in 1820 and completed in 1823, at a cost of twenty-three thousand dollars.

Clinton and Washington halls, commenced in 1828, were finished in 1829, one hundred by forty feet, at a cost of eight thousand five hundred dollars. The southeast hall, commenced in 1834, one hun-

dred by forty feet, was completed in 1835, at a cost of nine thousand five hundred dollars. The trustees bought a house for the president at one thousand five hundred dollars.

In 1838 a laboratory, forty by twenty-four feet, was built, for fifteen hundred dollars; making the building expenses in all, not far from fifty-two thousand dollars.

In October, 1817, fifteen hundred dollars were appropriated for one or more professors of languages and mathematics, to commence their duties on the first of May, 1818.

The tuition fee was established at five dollars the session, including room rent, fuel, &c.

In April, 1818, the tuition fee was raised to ten dollars, and the salary of a tutor to a grammar school so altered, that he was to have one half the tuition fees, five hundred dollars out of the treasury, and a dwelling house rent free. In June, 1818, the Rev. James Hughes was appointed tutor of the grammar school, which he accepted, and entered upon his duties in November of the same year; and alternate vacations of three weeks each, were established for April and October, every year. In April, 1821, Mr. Hughes resigned his seat, and the institution stopped business for a time. In July, 1824, the board proceeded to organize the faculty, and to appoint other professors. The Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D., (vice president and professor of natural philosophy in Transylvania University,) was elected president, with a salary of one thousand dollars, and William Sparrow, teacher of languages, with a salary of five hundred dollars. In September, 1824, John E. Annan of Baltimore, was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, with a salary of seven hundred dollars. The college was regularly opened for the reception of students, on the 15th of November, 1824. On the 30th of March, 1825, the president (Dr. Bishop) was inaugurated in the presence of a large and much interested audience.

William Sparrow was then elected professor of languages; and in March, 1826, he having resigned his seat, William H. M'Guffey, of Washington college, Pa., was chosen to supply his place, with a salary of six hundred dollars. In September, 1825, the grammar school was established; J. P. Williston was appointed principal, at a salary of five hundred dollars. He was succeeded by J. P. Vandyke and J. S. Weaver. In March, 1829, W. F. Ferguson was elected to the office. W. W. Robertson followed him, and *he* was since succeeded by R. H. Bishop, Jr., A. M., who still occupies that station.

In September, 1828, the chair of professor Annan became vacant, which was filled in March following, by the election of J. W. Scott,

A. M., of Washington college, Pa. In September, 1832, owing to the increasing number of students, and consequently the increased amount of labor required on the part of the teachers, it was deemed expedient to create two new professorships. Accordingly J. W. Scott was promoted to the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry, and W. H. M'Guffey to that of philology and mental science, each with a salary of eight hundred and fifty dollars, and S. W. McCracken and Thomas Armstrong, (deceased) both graduates of the institution, were elected to the professorships of languages and mathematics.

After the death of professor Armstrong in 1835, A. T. Bledsoe, of Kenyon college, was elected in his place. In 1836, professors M'Guffey and Bledsoe resigned their seats, and in 1837 they were again filled by the election of Rev. John McArthur, A. M., of Cadiz, Ohio, as professor of Greek and Rhetoric, and Chauncy N. Olds as professor of Latin and Hebrew. In August, 1840, Dr. Bishop, the venerable and much loved president, signified his willingness to retire from the presidency.

His resignation was accepted, and a new professorship of history and political science was created, to which Dr. Bishop was elected, with a salary of six hundred and fifty dollars, and a house, rent free. I. C. Young, D. D., president of Centre college, Ky., was elected as the successor of Dr. Bishop, and upon his not accepting the appointment, the Rev. George Junkin, D. D., president of Lafayette college, Pa., was elected to the presidency of Miami University, which he accepted. He entered upon the duties of his office on the 12th of April, 1841, and on the 11th of August following he was inaugurated in the presence of a large assembly. In 1841, professors McCracken and Olds resigned their seats, which were again filled by the election of John Armstrong, A. M. and J. C. Moffat in their stead. The faculty is now full and stands as follows, viz: George Junkin, D. D., president, and professor of mental and moral philosophy, political economy and evidences of Christianity; R. H. Bishop, D. D., professor of history and political science; J. W. Scott, A. M., professor of natural philosophy, astronomy and chemistry; John M'Arthur, A. M., professor of Grecian literature and rhetoric; John Armstrong, A. M., professor of mathematics and civil engineering; J. C. Moffat, A. M., professor of Roman literature; R. H. Bishop, Jr., A. M., master of the preparatory department.

The literary societies are of great value to the institution. They are three in number.

The Erodelphian Society was organized November 9, 1825. The Union Literary Society, December 14, 1835. The Miami Hall,

May 22, 1833. The libraries and furniture of the first two societies are estimated at more than five thousand dollars each.

The libraries connected with the institution, together, contains more than seven thousand volumes.

That of the college contains about	- - -	3,000
" Erodelphian Society	- - - -	1,500
" Union Literary Society	- - -	1,700
" Miami Hall	- - - - - -	1,100
" Missionary Society	- - - -	400
Total	- - - - -	7,700

These are well-selected and valuable books, in every department of useful knowledge.

The following table contains a synopsis of the number of students and graduates in each year since the institution was organized.

Classes.	Years.	Whole No. of Students.	Allumni.
1st.	1824	20	
2nd.	1825	95	
3rd.	1826	119	12
4th.	1827	144	9
5th.	1828	152	11
6th.	1829	129	10
7th.	1830	153	10
8th.	1831	192	17
9th.	1832	163	12
10th.	1833	228	22
11th.	1834	238	22
12th.	1835	207	27
13th.	1836	186	22
14th.	1837	167	28
15th.	1838	227	21
16th.	1839	250	32
17th.	1840	196	25
18th.	1841	164	28
Total in 18 years,		3030	308

This shows, that during the eighteen years which have elapsed since the university has been in operation, an average number of one hundred and sixty-eight students have been in regular attendance.

Men who have been educated at this institution, are now in all parts of the United States, in every department of society, and pursuing every laudable calling. More than sixty of her allumni are now engaged in the practice of the law; and more than eighty are successfully employed as watchmen upon the walls of Zion. The influence of Miami University has already been extensively felt for good in the South and West; and who can tell the amount of good that may yet result from it, to the favored inhabitants of this

beautiful and fruitful valley. May she continue to prosper; and may similar institutions be multiplied in our land, until our nation shall be distinguished among the nations of the earth, not only for freedom of thought and action, but also for universal intelligence and sound morality.

A. R. Taylor

[Communicated for the American Pioneer.]

ANECDOTES OF JESSE HUGHS, PIONEER CUSTOMS, ETC.

At a time when the Indians were still occasionally committing depredations on the settlements in the neighborhood of Clarksburg, in Virginia, Hughs and one of his neighbors having business on the Ohio, agreed to go together; and, as the saying is, to kill two birds with one stone, they concluded to make a hunting expedition of it. Hughs was bred up an Indian fighter. There was perhaps no man that better understood the Indian character, or their sagacity in warfare; neither was there any man less fearless in danger, yet no one was more cautious or knew better how to avoid exposure. He proposed to his companion to take a different route from any that the Indians had been in the habit of traveling. This his friend thought rather an unnecessary precaution, as there were no Indians then known or suspected to be on the southeast side of the Ohio river; but yielding to the better judgment of Hughs, they set out by a new route, traveled slowly and killed what game they could, leaving their skins to take home with them on their return. On the second or third evening after leaving home, they struck up their camp in time to prepare and eat their supper before nightfall.

Here I will make a small digression by giving a short description of camping in the woods in those days, as well as a description of the costume or dress worn by most of the male pioneers. A place for a camp was selected as near water as convenient. A fire was kindled by the side of the largest suitable log that could be procured. The ground was preferred to be somewhat side-lying, so that they might lie with the feet to the fire and the head up hill. The common mode of preparing a repast, was by sharpening a stick at both ends and sticking one end in the ground before the fire and their meat on the other end. This stick could be turned round, or the meat on it, as occasion required. Sweeter roast meat than such as is prepared in this manner no epicure of Europe ever tasted. Bread, when

they had flour to make it of, was either baked under the ashes or the dough rolled in long rolls and wound round a stick like that prepared for roasting meat, and managed in the same way. Scarce any one who has not tried it, can imagine the sweetness and gusto of such a meal, in such a place, at such a time. French mustard, or their thousand and one contrivances (condiments) to make victuals go down without an appetite, are all nothing to this.

The pioneer's dress consisted principally of a tow linen shirt and pantaloons, manufactured by their wives, daughters and female friends. The remainder was nearly all of buckskin, killed with their guns and dressed by their own hands. Their moccasins fitted the foot neatly, and dry oak leaves mostly supplied the place of socks or stockings. Above these a pair of buckskin leggins, or gaiters, made to fit the leg and tie in at the ankle with the moccasins. These extended some distance above the knees, and a strap from the upper part extending up and buttoning to the hip of the pantaloons. These leggins were a defence against rattlesnakes, briars, nettles, &c. In cutting these leggins, or gaiters, there was a surplus left on the outside, at the outer seam. This surplus was left from one to two inches in width, which, after the seam was sewed, was cut into an ornamental fringe. The hunting shirt comes next. It too was made of dressed buckskin, and in the same way ornamented with the fringe down the outside of the arms, around the collar, cape, belt and tail, and sometimes down the seams under the arms, or even other parts; for from the hunter in the woods to the belle in the city, fashions reign and rule the human mind more than we are sometimes willing to own; and as we see in palaces, so in the woods these ornaments on the buckskin hunting shirts were carried to excess by those among the pioneers whose tastes were less refined.

Habited in this manner, the pioneers, or frontier settlers as they were called, thought themselves quite sufficiently equipped to attend church, go to a wedding, quilting, or visit their sweethearts, and even to get married: and under such circumstances, a new hunting shirt, leggins and moccasins had the same charms to draw forth the loving looks and the sweet smiles of the lassies then, as the long tailed blues, the dandy dress, or the glittering uniform now; and they were not a whit the less appreciated by the laddies, coming from rosy lassies in linsey wolsey, or perhaps partly in buckskin, than they are now after they have passed lines of silks, laces and artificials. Men who have been reared in this manner, and the mothers of whose children were wooed and wedded in this way, I have known afterwards to occupy some of the highest stations in the gift of their fellow citizens.

Such was the equipment of the hero of our narrative and his friend. As was customary, they took off their moccasins to dry. The gaiters and hunting shirt was usually taken off and placed under the head of the owner to supply the place of a pillow. A huntsman without a dog would have been considered an anomaly. Such an one, faithful and well trained, Hughs and his friend had with them. At dusk they began to make some preparations for laying down by unbuttoning the leggins at the hips and loosing their belts. Hughs discovered his dog was not satisfied, and that he became very restless. He would advance a few steps in a certain direction, snuff and scent the air, and frequently give a low stifled growl. This excited Hughs' suspicion, which made him decline undressing any further, and to buckle up his belt again; but unfortunately, as it might seem from the sequel, he forgot to button the straps of his leggins to the hips of his pantaloons. After watching his dog for some time, he named it to his friend, and said he was fearful there were Indians about. His friend thought it hardly possible, for they had discovered no Indian signs, nor heard the crack of any rifle but their own. He thought they could not be discovered. This reasoning did not dispel Hughs' doubts. The dog's uneasiness increased. Hughs told his friend that they had better leave the camp a small distance and watch it; that if there were Indians, as he really expected, they would break on the camp as soon as they supposed they had got asleep, or at day-break in the morning; by watching the camp at a small distance, they would have an opportunity to kill two Indians at least, and then of making their escape if necessary. Nothing could induce his friend to believe that there was any danger, and he refused to leave the camp. Hughs then told him that he would not leave him alone, but they must sleep on their arms and be ready for any emergency that might happen. To this his friend agreed. Hughs and his dog had a poor night's rest; and as soon as day began fairly to break, the dog broke out into a furious bark. They both sprang to their feet at the same instant that a volley of rifle shots was poured in upon them. Hughs friend fell dead on the spot, but himself received no injury except a bullet hole or two through his hunting shirt. He took to his heels with a whole posse of Indians close after him, happily for him, with empty guns. At first he out-ran them with ease, but his loosened leggins slipped down about his ancles and at length got over his feet and hampered him so much, that the Indians began to gain fast on him. He found he must get clear of his leggins or lose his scalp. This he was not quite ready for, and straining every nerve, he ascended a ridge and a little over the top he stopped, and alternately

setting his feet on his leggins tore them off. By this time the Indians had got nearly within tomahawk distance of him. Relieved of this embarrassment, he again set off at the top of his speed and soon gained a safe distance. In passing over the top of the next high ridge he gave a loud shout of triumph, well understood by the Indians, who gave up the chase, and let him make for home at his leisure.

Thus terminated this unfortunate trip. Hughs providentially escaped with his life and the loss of his friend. This might not only have been prevented but turned to the advantage of the whites, had Hughs been able to prevail on his less experienced and more unfortunate friend to leave the camp, from his apprehensions of danger.

Indian Creek Farm, near Chillicothe, June 4, 1842.

Felix Renick

POLITICAL CONTEST OF 1799.

It agrees with the intentions of the American Pioneer to bring forward sketches of early history; but when pieces of that sort are introduced, which seem to have little or no use, an apology for the act is not inappropriate; and when the piece, like that which follows, may be viewed as having an evil influence, some introductory sentiments become almost indispensably necessary.

To love and support our political institutions as a patriotic people ought, we must have confidence that they are based upon the true principles of government, so far at least as to be capable, under all common occurrences, of being so improved and adjusted as will ensure their permanency. We have but to pay attention to the common political parlance of Americans, to be convinced that there is no lack of the love of a republican form of government, and that there is a want of confidence in the permanency of our institutions. This lack of confidence has a deleterious effect upon our actions, for without confidence men lose their energies, and fall a prey to any power capable of operating upon them. The introduction of the following piece is intended to show that the gross irregularities which are at this day so frequent in political contests, whether in bar-rooms or in the halls of congress, although reprehensible in the actors, are but a repetition of former scenes, and by no means indicative that our political institutions want sufficient basis to ensure permanency. History informs us that since the struggle of 1799–1800, there presided a no-party-president, (James Monroe) and that in 1820, such political apathy existed, that in many places no presidential election was held. In short, that president at his second election scarcely received votes enough to elect a constable. The government in 1799 and 1800, was like the earth at

the perihelium of her orbit. In its perihelium its motion is more rapid, and seemingly in more danger of falling upon the sun. In 1820, she was in her alphelium, her motion slow, and the danger of going off into regions of eternal cold and darkness was equally great. Since that she has again approached or passed her perihelium. So far these periods seem to be about twenty years.

Descartes has demonstrated that the permanency of the planetary system depends upon the *irregularity* of all planetary motion. He has shown us that were the motions of the earth and planets in their orbits *perfectly* regular, all would inevitably perish. Lest some of our readers may not see the force of this, we will indulge a moment in explanation. Any one may conceive that a perfect *balance* of opposite forces is equal to no force. For instance, suppose a planet equal in size and weight to our earth, to be suspended between two suns, so that the attraction of one shall be exactly equal to the attraction of the other, it is easy to see that it would remain at rest, but that the force of a child's hand applied to one side or the other, would cause its destruction, by addition to the force of one, and subtraction from the other; and the effect would be its destruction by falling on that sun toward which the child impelled it. But if that planet so balanced had but a vibratory motion, say of one tenth of an inch only, and power to maintain it, the force necessary to produce that vibration would be, say equal to the power of ten thousand children. In this case, 9,999 children all pushing one way, would not be sufficient to throw it out of its vibratory plane. But to make it more familiar, suppose a boat or vessel of any magnitude in perfectly still water; see what little force will move it! Suppose it to be perfectly balanced between two currents as we sometimes see pieces of drift wood, a child might push it in favor of one current or other, down a cataract to its total destruction; but if that vessel has but a vibratory motion creating an amount of force equal to ten men, nine could not produce its destruction.

We will familiarize a little further: suppose a boy's spinning-top or a daneing-button on a lady's work stand, had a perfectly regular motion, it is easy to see that there would be a perfect balance of power on all sides, and there would be no more power applied to keep it erect, than there is in one perfectly still. It is impossible to produce a *perfectly* regular motion, and the irregularity of the motion causes the force applied to turn it, to be exerted in favor of keeping it erect, for it is always falling, which the whirling force acts against. Were it possible to remove all the resistance of the atmosphere and friction at the pivot, the top or button would revolve forever without the least danger of upsetting; and it is only when the propelling force is so diminished by resistance, that the irregularity exceeds the remainder, that the top or button will completely fall. Just so in the motion of the earth. The force which would be necessary to make the earth vibrate (without orbicular motion,) equal to the distance from the perihelium to the aphelium, is exactly the amount necessary to produce those results with orbicular motion. This

is incomparably less than the amount of force which causes the orbicular motion, and until the vibrating force shall equal the projectile force, there is no danger of the earth leaving her orbit by means of the vibratory motion which causes the perihelia and aphelia. This vibratory force is also incomparably greater than all the disturbing forces applied by other planets, comets, &c., for their tendency to disturb is irregular and tends to balance itself. Hence they can never produce destruction. Take away the earth's projectile force, and the vibratory force would destroy it. Take this away, and the disturbance of planets, comets, &c. would destroy it. The projectile force, great as it is, has not of itself the least power to counteract the smallest disturbance from another planet or comet, which, small as it might be, by producing a regular enlargement or diminution of the earth's orbit, would end disastrously; but the vibratory force being millions times greater than the disturbing force, no danger ensues. It is plain to see that a perfectly regular circular motion would be by the smallest impulse changed to a spiral motion, either enlarging or contracting, but an elliptical motion could not be changed to a spiral motion without power sufficient to make a circle of, it be first applied.

Republicanism or the love of our institutions is the projectile force, partyism or love of party is the vibratory motion, and the influence of other institutions upon us is the disturbance of other planets. Take away republicanism, and partyism would destroy us. Take away partyism, and the regular influence of other institutions would in time so change our views, and diminish or enlarge our republican feeling, that we would fall upon the sun in consolidation, or go out into the unknown regions of perfect agrarianism.

The following piece extracted from a valuable work purchased by the editor of the Pioneer from the library of Thomas Jefferson, is a beautiful and historical illustration of these principles. In that debate, or rather quarrel, wherein the real states of the parties are shown without reserve, the love of our institutions, love of party and foreign influence are shown conspicuously to be subject, the less to the greater and better, in such immense differences as to insure the safety of republican principles embraced in our blessed form of government. Who cannot see that love of our own government reigned triumphantly in the breasts of both disputants, and that the love of party, (easily mistaken for love of country, as the earth's orbit might be mistaken by superficial observers for a circle,) condemned and destroyed foreign influence in each other. All our political quarrels are seen by an attentive observer to be of this sort, and to contain preserving principles in good proportion.

THE SPIRIT OF POLITICAL CONVERSATION.

Written in 1799.

I WENT lately into the company of two persons, whom I will call Tom and Harry, talking very loudly upon politics. The debate, as usual, had proceeded from argument to sarcasm, and from raillery to railing, and went on somewhat in this style:

Tom. Yes, your party aims at nothing but to overthrow the present government.

Harry. The very purpose of the villanous faction whom we fight against.

T. To throw us all into anarchy, and deliver us over to a Robespierrian usurpation.

H. And who's to blame, if that falls out, merely from our struggles to prevent you from establishing a titled and hereditary despotism, well known to be the dearest wish of your hearts, and the end of all your labors?

T. For that you wish to cement us, by alliances and treaties of fraternity, with the horrid and inexorable French.

H. The only expedient we have left to elude the effects of *your* unnatural and traitorous devotion to Britain.

T. But no wonder you act as traitors to your country, and as tools and sycophants of France. Power is the bribe held forth to you; and, to reign is worth your ambition, though as slaves and puppets of a foreign power.

H. Whereas you more wisely content yourself with money, and will barter the freedom of your country for a much safer consideration. Gold, British gold, is the spell that binds *you.*

T. A pack of knaves! cajoling the people by lies and stratagems! and laboring to build up your private fortunes, profligate and bankrupt as you are, upon the ruins of your country!

H. Better knaves than fools, say I: better pursue measures by which a few shall prosper, than, like you, to embrace those by which all shall perish in common. The knave promotes his own interest, at least, but the fool partakes himself of the ruin which he heaps upon others. Ye are blind guides, that fall first into the ditch into which you lead others. Sampsons, that, in order to destroy your enemies, pull the house upon your own heads.

T. Not content with warring against all political order, ye labor, with a diabolical zeal, to destroy the very *names* of morals and religion.

H. Whereas you are contented merely with abolishing the *things.* You leave us to console ourselves with the name, but take care that the substance shall be exchanged for bigotry, intolerance, and superstition.

T. Cursers of God ye are, and tools of the devil!

H. Fit companions, if so, for the enemies of man, and the victims of their own folly.

T. Ungrateful scoundrels, that, if I had my will, should all be shipped off to-morrow to your respective countries, where your crimes have already merited the gallows. What are you but the refuse of Europe, fugitives from states where your restless malignity strove in vain against wholesome order, and vipers who sting to death that bosom which gave you an asylum!

H. Fit companions, once more say I, for those impious monopolists who deny us the rights of human nature; because, forsooth, we were not *born* among you. More savage, you, than those savage tribes with whom every stranger is an enemy; for, with you, it seems, every *guest* is a *slave!*

T. How dare you abuse the government that fosters and protects you; by whose indulgent influence you are *what* you are; and which, if your ingratitude were treated as it merits, would reduce you in a moment to the beggary and dirt from whence you sprung!

H. I can't tell. I wonder at my own audacity as much as you. For a slave like me to pretend to question the will of one who has my life, liberty, and property in his own hand, and may kill or banish me just as caprice shall prompt him, is a rashness truly surprising. To supplicate his mercy, to pamper his arrogance, to confess that his power over me is no more than simple equity, that I have no shadow of pretence to aspire to an equality with him, to take an equal share in the government of myself and my fellows, is by far the safest way.

T. I understand your irony. And so you would insinuate that you have a right to enter my house, to claim a seat at my table, and share the possession of my wife and children, would you? *That* is one of the rights of human nature, is it? All exclusive property, all household and conjugal privileges, are arrant tyranny and usurpation, I warrant you. Maxims worthy of those who are at once rebels to their country and their God.

H. Rebels let us be as long as we are ruled by tyrants.

T. Atheists!

H. Hypocrites!

T. Liars!

H. Dissemblers!

T. Vile, bloody-minded jacobins!

H. Proud, detestable aristocrats!

T. How dare you, rascal, use such terms?

H. Your humble imitator, sir, am I; I dare do all, as the poet *might have said*, that other rascals dare.

T. Do you call me rascal, sir?

H. No, sir; I *miscal* you gentleman, that's all.

T. Take that, sir (*kicking.*)

H. And, to be out of your debt, take *that*, sir (*striking.*)

Having little relish for this species of debate, and other persons being present to see *fair play*, I hastily withdrew. This being a pretty good specimen of the fashionable political conversation, I have amused myself by giving you this account of it, which, I hope, may likewise amuse some of your readers.

EARLY INCIDENTS OF BUFFALO—BUFFALO HARBOR.

NUMBER V.

After ascertaining the distance to which it would be necessary to extend the pier, and estimating the cost of completing it, the continuous line was abandoned, and it was resolved to lay down a pier two hundred feet long, several rods south and west of the pier already built, but in the same direction. This pier would form the western

termination of the harbor, and was to be connected with the other by two lines of piles eight feet apart. As these lines of piles would be at right angles with the course of the waves, it was believed the work would be sufficiently permanent, and would furnish a good and cheap substitute for a pier. Both pile-driving and pier work were commenced, and prosecuted with a vigor and economy suited to the scanty funds of the company.

It was found much more difficult to erect piers in ten or twelve feet water, than in the more shallow water in which they were put down the preceding year. In attempting to put down the first crib which was to form the eastern end of the block, in about ten feet water, the current was found so strong that it was impossible to keep the brush in line on which to place the crib. To obviate this difficulty, piles were driven ten feet apart on the north line of the proposed pier. This not only secured the brush, but served as a guide in putting down the cribs, which for this block were forty feet long, twenty feet wide at the bottom, and eighteen at the surface of the water. In addition to the plan adopted for strengthening the cribs the preceding year, braces of oak timber, three by six inches, and extending from the bottom to the top of the crib, were let into the timbers composing the windward side of each crib, and secured by spikes, as the crib was put down. The quantity of brush was also increased. Two large scow loads were used as a bed for each crib. These, besides securing the crib from being undermined, aided by their elasticity, in resisting the force of the swells.

A slight rise in the creek about the middle of July, encouraged a hope that by a temporary contraction of the channel, it might be deepened. About fifty of the citizens volunteered their aid for a day, and a foot of additional depth was gained.

One difficulty attending the pier work was that of procuring a supply of stone. About twenty cords were required for each crib, but little of which could be put in until the crib was all put together, and this quantity could not always be obtained at the time it was wanted. The loose stone easily raised from the reefs near the harbor, had already been used, and now stone had to be brought from the Canada shore. Boats were scarce, the price paid for stone was so low, (only about three dollars per cord,) and the quantity required so small, that there was no encouragement to build suitable boats, and those used were of the frailest kind, and liable every day to fail.

The pile work proved to be a tedious and difficult job. An average of a hundred strokes of the hammer was required for each pile. The interruption from the swells made it necessary to work at night

during calm weather. The pile work was at length completed, but when secured in the best manner that could be devised, was a very imperfect barrier to the swell, and a very poor substitute for a pier. The swells during gales of wind had removed some of the stones out of the first pier, these were recovered, the pier filled up, and covered by ties six inches apart let into the top timbers, and secured by trunnels. The outer pier was also filled with some stone and covered in the same way, and fifty cords of stone were deposited on the windward side for its greater security.

Thus was completed the first work of the kind ever constructed on the lakes. It had occupied two hundred and twenty-one working days in building, (the laborers always resting on the Sabbath,) and extended into the lake about eighty rods to twelve feet water. It was begun, carried on and completed principally by three private individuals, some of whom mortgaged the whole of their real estate to raise the means for making an improvement in which they had but a common interest. And now, although but twenty years have elapsed, these sacrifices and efforts, and even the fact that such a work ever existed, are unknown to most of the citizens of Buffalo, who have only seen the magnificent stone pier erected at a cost of over two hundred thousand dollars. But should the names of those who projected and constructed the first pier be remembered, for a few years, yet the subordinate actors by whose faithful labors the drudgery of this work was accomplished, must remain unknown even to those who enjoy the immediate fruits of their labor in wealth and luxury. Their names would be inserted here, but that the time book being kept with a pencil, and having been frequently wet, has become in part illegible. Simon and Clark Burdock and Charles Ayres, deserve special notice, and should either of these men, or any of the others engaged on the work, wish to take passage on the lake, it is hoped that any steamboat captain hailing from Buffalo, would give them a free passage. There is a debt of gratitude due to the laborers on Buffalo harbor for their extraordinary faithfulness. They were all farmers, or the sons of farmers from the adjoining country, whose necessity for money brought them from their homes. Some of them engaged at the commencement of the work, and were never absent from it a day until it was finished; and such were their steady habits, that but one case of intoxication occurred, and not a single instance in which a jar or misunderstanding proceeded to blows. The laborers either individually or as a company never shrunk from exposure, nor hesitated to turn out at night when required, and their work was

performed with such faithfulness that not a single timber was lost from the pier.

The company were equally fortunate in their boatmen. The two stone contractors contributed much to the successful prosecution and completion of the harbor, often running their boats at night when stone was required; and in more than one instance, their extroardinary exertions preserved portions of the work from destruction, and saved the company from great loss.

Sloan and Olmstead were the names of these hard-weather men—and those only who have experienced the difficulties of making improvements in a new country, with means and facilities wholly inadequate to the object to be accomplished, can justly appreciate the worth of such men.

James Sloan was first known as a salt boatman on Niagara river in 1807 or 8, was a hand on board the boat Independence, and had only left her the day before she, with all on board, was carried over the Niagara falls. He was a lake boatman until some time after the commencement of the war. He volunteered in various hazardous expeditions, was one of the party who cut out the brig Adams at Fort Erie—commanded the ammunition boat during the siege of that fort, and had several marvelous escapes from shot and rockets. After the war he removed to the west, but returned shortly before the commencement of Buffalo harbor, and took as deep an interest in the progress of the work as if it had been his own private business. He has been rich and poor several times, has endured more fatigue, and performed more labor than most men of his age. Few persons know so much of men and things generally as he does, and no one is more liberal, benevolent and honest.

N. K. Olmstead, though quite a different character from Sloan, was a man of unusual muscular power and remarkable courage and resolution. He was a citizen of Buffalo before the war. His property had been burnt by the British; and when peace was concluded between the two governments, not considering himself a party to the treaty, he determined to make reprisals. In pursuance of this determination, he soon managed to get a contract to transport, from Chippewa to Fort Erie, British army stores, among which were several kegs of specie. He brought his load to the American side of the river, and hid the goods and money, waiting a favorable opportunity to remove them. The boatmen stole a part, and the vigilance of the officers who made pursuit recovered most of the balance. Olmstead retired from the frontier for a time, but in 1819 returned to Buffalo. When the harbor was commenced, he engaged as a stone-boatman,

and in the varied and severe labor required upon the work, perhaps no man in the country could have equalled him. After stones became scarce upon the reef, all the other boats resorted to the Canada shore, where they were abundant. Olmstead soon ventured to go over. The first few trips he carried a loaded pistol and a fish spear, but not being molested his apprehensions ceased. He was admonished not to risk himself, but he continued his trips, and perhaps would not have been noticed but for his resisting a demand made by the deputy collector for a clearance fee of fifty cents each load. Soon afterwards he was seized and hurried on board a large boat, which immediately put out for Chippewa. It was not deemed necessary to confine him. There was a small skiff in tow with a paddle in it. Olmstead resolved to possess himself of it, and make for the American shore, resolved to risk going over the falls rather than remain a prisoner. When taken he had concealed his jack knife in his shoe, which he got ready for use, and when the boat was near Chippewa sprang on board the skiff, cut the fast, and pushed his skiff into the current. Using his paddle, he directed his course to the American shore. By extraordinary efforts he made one of the grass islands, where he rested, got out of the skiff, and towed it up the river as far as he could wade, expecting that a boat would put out from the American side for his relief; but none appearing, and discovering one putting out from the Chippewa side in pursuit, he took to his skiff, and succeeded in landing in Porter's mill race, at the falls. The next morning he resumed his work upon the harbor, to the no small gratification of the workmen, with all of whom he was a great favorite.

NUMBER VI.

The pier was completed, and the creek carried by a new and straight, although shallow, channel into the lake.

The fact that the pier built in 1820 had endured the storms of one winter uninjured, encouraged the company to believe that the outer pier, although more exposed, would, by being better secured, prove strong enough to resist the swells, and in future protect the channel from the moving sands which had yearly barred it up. It was expected that the spring freshet would so widen and deepen the channel as to permit the lake vessels and even the Walk-in-the-Water, (the only steamboat on the lake) to enter safely. This boat had been built at Black Rock, and run to that place, not ever touching at Buffalo; and the very prospect of having a steamboat arrive and depart from Buffalo, was highly encouraging. But while anticipating these benefits, the Walk-in-the-Water was driven on shore a short distance

above Buffalo, while on her last trip, in 1821, and bilged. The engine, boilers and furniture were saved, and there was no doubt that the Steamboat Company would build a new boat, as they had purchased from Fulton's heirs the right to navigate by steam that portion of lake Erie lying within the state, which right was then deemed valid. The citizens of Buffalo, without loss of time, addressed the directors of the company, presenting the advantages that would accrue to them by building their boat at Buffalo. The company immediately on learning their loss, made a contract with Noah Brown & Brothers, of New York, to build a boat at Buffalo, if it could be constructed as cheaply there as at the Rock, and if there could be a certainty of getting the boat out of the creek.

Brown came on early in January, passing on to Black Rock without even reporting himself in Buffalo, nor was his arrival known here until he had agreed to build his boat at the Rock, and engaged the ship carpenters of that place to furnish the timber. The Black Rock contractors, gratified with their success, agreed to accommodate Brown by meeting him at the Mansion House in Buffalo in the evening to execute the contract, which was to be drawn by an attorney in Buffalo, an acquaintance of Brown's. The gentlemen with their securities were punctual in their attendance.

As soon as it was known in Buffalo that the boat was to be built at the Rock, the citizens assembled in the bar-room of the Mansion House, and after spending a few minutes in giving vent to their indignation, it was resolved to have an immediate interview with Brown, (who was in his parlor,) and know why Buffalo had been thus slighted. Perhaps he might yet be induced to change his mind, if the contract were not already signed. The landlord undertook to ascertain this fact, and reported that it was not yet executed. A delegate to wait on Brown was chosen with little ceremony—there was no time to give specific instructions. "Get the boat built here, and we will be bound by your agreement." The delegate had never seen Brown, and on entering his parlor, had to introduce himself. This done he proceeded:

"Mr. Brown, why do you not build your boat at Buffalo, pursuant to the wishes of the company?"

"Why, sir, I arrived in your village while your people were sleeping, and being obliged to limit my stay here to one day, I thought to improve the early part of the morning by commencing my inquiries at Black Rock, and consulting the ship-carpenters residing there, who had aided in building the Walk-in-the-Water. While there I was told that your harbor is all a humbug, and that if I were to build the

boat in Buffalo creek, she could not be got into the lake in the spring, and perhaps never. Besides, the carpenters refused to deliver the timber at Buffalo. Considering the question of where the boat should be built as settled, I proceeded to contract for timber to be delivered, and shall commence building the boat immediately at the Rock."

"Mr. Brown, our neighbors have done us great injury, although they, no doubt, honestly believe what they have said to you about our harbor. Under the circumstances, I feel justified in making you a proposition, which will enable you to comply with the wishes of the Steamboat Company, and do justice to Buffalo, without exposing yourself to loss or blame. The citizens of Buffalo will deliver suitable timber at a quarter less than it will cost you at the Rock, and execute a judgment bond to pay to the Steamboat Company one hundred and fifty dollars for every day's detention of the boat in the creek after the first of May."

"I accept the proposition. When will the papers be made out?"

"To-morrow morning. And if you wish it, a satisfactory sum of money shall now be placed in your hands, to be forfeited if the contract and bond are not executed."

"This, sir, I do not require. I shall leave at ten o'clock this evening, and my friend Moulton will prepare the necessary papers and see them executed."

The judgment bond was signed by nearly all the responsible citizens, and the contract for the timber taken by Wm. A. Carpenter, at the reduced price agreed on. To comply with this contract, both as to time and the quality of timber, required no little energy and good management, but the contractor, who is still a citizen of Buffalo, executed it to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Buffalo having completed a harbor, and established a ship yard, began to assume new life. Brighter prospects opened, and it only remained to secure the termination of the canal at this place, of which there was a fair prospect. David Thomas, an engineer, in the employ of the canal board, had been occupied the preceding summer in making surveys preparatory to a location of the canal from the lake to the mountain ridge. He had spent some time in examining the Niagara river, and Buffalo creek and harbor. He was known to be opposed to the plan of terminating the canal in an artificial basin at the Rock, and it was presumed that he would report decidedly in favor of terminating the canal in Buffalo creek. This encouraged the citizens to send an agent to Albany to represent to the president of the canal board, De Witt Clinton, the fact that a harbor had been completed, and to urge the immediate location of the canal to Buf-

falo. This subject was considered by the board, and the canal report of that year, 1823, contained their decision in favor of Buffalo.

Although this decision was not unexpected, yet it occasioned great rejoicing to the citizens, who, burnt out and impoverished by the war, and disappointed in their just expectations of remuneration from the government, had for years been battling manfully with adversity, cheered on by hopes which were now about to be realized.

While congratulating themselves on the prospect of still better times, the expected flood came, and removing a large body of sand and gravel, opened a wide and deep channel from the creek to the lake. But unfortunately a heavy bank of ice resting on the bottom of the lake, and rising several feet above its surface, had been formed during the winter, extending from the west end of the pier to the shore. This ice bank arrested the current of the creek, forming an eddy along side of the pier, into which the sand and gravel removed by the flood was deposited, filling up the channel for the distance of over three hundred feet, and leaving a little more than three feet water where, before the freshet, there was an average of four and a half feet. This disaster was the more vexatious, as it might have been prevented by a few hours of well directed labor in opening even a small passage through the bank of ice. It was attempted to open a channel through the ice by blasting, but this proving ineffectual, no other means were tried, and it was now feared that the predictions of our Black Rock neighbors were about to be realized.

This obstruction of the harbor produced not only discouragement but consternation. A judgment-bond had been executed, which was a lien upon a large portion of the real estate of the village for the payment of one hundred and fifty dollars per day, from and after the first of May, until the channel could be sufficiently opened to let the steamboat pass into the lake. The payment of this sum, which for the summer would amount to at least twenty-four thousand dollars, could only be avoided by removing the deposit. To form a channel even eight rods wide and nine feet deep would require the removal of not less than six thousand yards of gravel, for which work there was neither an excavator, nor time, skill or money to procure one. The superintendent of the harbor was absent; as soon as the news of the disaster reached him he hastened home, and arriving about the middle of March, a meeting of the citizens concerned was called. It was resolved immediately to attempt the opening of the channel, and a subscription was proposed to defray the expenses which was estimated at one thousand six hundred dollars. The subscription went heavily, only about three hundred dollars were obtained. Although

all were deeply interested, some believed that the duty of removing the obstruction devolved on the harbor company, others had no confidence in the plan of operations proposed, and with many who would cheerfully have contributed, it was difficult to raise money. But without waiting to see how the means was to be provided, preparations were made for commencing the work next morning.

MR. SHARP'S LETTER.

We give below another letter from our valued correspondent and pioneer in Missouri. Our readers will impatiently anticipate his forthcoming recitals, as well as be pleased with his poetic powers. They will please to repress their smiles at the thought of our poet having been twelve years old in Dunmore's war, when they duly appreciate the fine sentiments they inculcate. We hope his poetic taste will be frequently exerted for our benefit, especially in *historical* poetry.

Warren County, Mo., June 11th, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Your last, dated the 8th, came to hand on the 24th ult. You never fail to cut out some employment for me, without making any allowance for age or infirmity. You leave me no alternative, for you say, "you must;" yes, must is the word, "loose no time in putting down, for the Pioneer, all those reminiscences of your life that will be interesting to our readers." It is true, I could recount many curious incidents which occurred on the frontier settlements of western Virginia, during the war of the revolution, and for several years after, many of which I was a witness of, and an actor in, and others which were currently reported and believed in the country at the time; but I fear my crude style and awkward manner of expressing my ideas, would do an injury to your periodical. However, as you appear so urgent, if you will allow me time to digest and prepare my communications, I will make the attempt. And when you receive them, if they will suit your purpose, you can publish them; and if not, you can pass them by without the fear of giving offense, for I am by no means anxious to appear in print. I shall have to write altogether from memory, and may not at all times be exactly correct as to date, &c. I find you sometimes give us a little poetry, and as an earnest that I will perform my promise, I send you a

specimen of my poetical powers, which must suffice till something better is prepared. If you approve of it, you can place it in the poet's corner.

Would heaven indulge the fond wish of my heart,
I'd ask neither power nor wealth—
With all its allurements of beauty and art,
The world and its grandeur can never impart
The sweets of contentment and health.

In a little cottage, a garden hard by,
And an orchard of fruit-bearing trees;
A site, where no strife or profusion comes nigh,
With a glass of pure water, to drink when I'm dry,
I'd enjoy both my freedom and ease.

With books that are useful, selected with taste,
My principal leisure I'd spend;
No part of my time I'd imprudently waste,
On Virtue's rich viands I'd mentally feast,
Or converse with a sensible friend.

And last, but not least, I would add to all this,
To insure the enjoyments of life,
A female companion to heighten my bliss,
And cheer up my heart with a smile and a kiss—
Endear'd by the the title of wife.

Her form should be graceful, her mind should be free
From vain affectation and pride;
Good sense and good nature in her should agree,
Her affection exclusively fix'd upon me,
With the fond yielding blush of a bride.

Thus calmly I'd glide down old Time's silent stream,
Untainted by folly or crime;
Resign'd to the mandates of Wisdom supreme,
Take leave of Mortality's whimsical dream,
And the empty illusions of Time.

Yours, respectfully,

Benj. Sharp

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

DR. S. P. HILDRETH.

It is with gratitude and joy that we again introduce this faithful contributor to our readers. These feelings are heightened by a long and dangerous illness through which he has passed, but from which he has recovered. A report, which we had not the means to doubt the truth of, reached us that he had actually taken his flight to another world, and we had made up our mind to try to get along without him, but in the Divine Providence of the Lord, his life has been spared, and may it long be preserved, not only to delight the readers of the American Pioneer, but to perform other uses in society for which his talents and industry eminently qualify him.

We give below a short account of the death of Silver-heels, from his pen, and we promise next month a rare treat from the same source, in a Biographical Sketch of Isaac Williams, a most worthy pioneer. A view of his (Williams') plantation, on the Virginia shore, opposite to Fort Harmer, may be seen accompanying the first number of the American Pioneer. We hope many such sketches will grace our pages. They most eminently connect the past with the present, and with the past the future, and do more to make one nation of the whole than any thing else can. They will thus have a more happy influence upon our future national character and prosperity, than the superficial thinker will perhaps be willing to acknowledge. We cannot now promise all of this interesting article in one number, but will give it in not more than two. Meanwhile, for good reasons, excuse us for just saying, that as far as we know, neither Isaac nor the Rev. John Williams were in the most remote degree of our family connexions, excepting that all of the name, as we believe, are descendants of that hardy race of ancient Britons, which neither the arm of Cæsar nor the force of Rome could conquer.

DEATH OF SILVER-HEELS.

For many years after the first settlement of Ohio, the article of marine salt was one of primary importance, as being absolutely necessary in the domestic economy of civilized man. The savage never having been accustomed to its use, can live and enjoy very good health without it; never lying by any great stores of meat, but letting each day provide for itself. If he needed a supply for a journey, or the short interval of summer, when hunting was poor, it was easily preserved by "jerking," or drying over a slow fire. Not so with the white man. Salt was an article of absolute necessity, and he was obliged to bring it across the mountains on pack-horses, for many years after the first settlement of the country, at an expense of six or eight dollars a bushel, even as late as the year 1800. Those immense fountains of brine that now are known to exist deep in the rocky beds below, were then not dreamed of; and it was supposed that the west

would always be dependent on the Atlantic coast for salt, and deeply deplored as a serious drawback on the prosperity of this beautiful region. Although springs of salt water were known in various places, yet they were of so poor and weak a quality as to require from four to six hundred gallons of the water to make a bushel of salt; and when made, it contained so much foreign matter as to render it a very inferior article. Yet as it could be used in place of the imported salt, and saved the borderer's money, at that day not very plenty, it was occasionally resorted to by the settlers, who, assembling in gangs of six or eight persons, with their domestic kettles, pack-horses, and provisions, camped out for a week at a time in the vicinity of the saline. These springs were generally discovered by hunters, and were at remote points from the settlements. One of the most noted in this part of Ohio, was on Salt creek, near the present town of Chandlersville, in Muskingum county. About the year 1798, a few years after the close of the Indian war, a party of men from the settlement on Olive-green creek, twenty-five miles from the saline, had assembled at this spot for the purpose of manufacturing a little salt. While they were occupied at this business, and cracking their rude jokes, a noted old warrior, well known to the borderers in early days by the name of Silver-heels, who was hunting near the spring, called at their camp. During times of peace, the intercourse of the Indians with the whites was free and unrestrained, and it was not uncommon for them to hunt in company with perfect confidence and good fellowship. This Indian had formerly lived a few miles south-west of this place, on the Muskingum river, near a rapid, or ripple, well known to all keel-boat men on that stream, by the name of "Silver-heels," and which it retains to this day.

At that period whisky was considered as much an article of necessity, for the support of man, and especially for those any way exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, or engaged in any laborious employment, as meat or bread. Temperance societies were then unknown; and a person who did not offer his neighbor or friend a dram, even if casually calling at his house, was thought a stingy fellow, and as much despised, as he would now be who should make such an offer and call it hospitality. The party of salt makers had not neglected a supply of the favorite beverage of the day, and knowing an Indian's habitual relish for whisky, offered it to him with a liberal hand. After taking a few drinks, the spirit of the old warrior was aroused, and as is their custom, he began to relate his war exploits, saying that in his various battles, and marauding excursions on the frontiers, he had taken the scalps of sixteen whites. Amongst others,

during the late war, he stated he had taken that of an old man, a little below the mouth of Olive-green creek, on the Muskingum river, not far from the block-house. This scalp he minutely described as having two crowns, or spiral turns of the hair on the top of the head, and that by carefully dividing it he had converted it into two scalps, and sold them at Detroit for fifty dollars each. He said the old man was gathering the fruit of the May-apple, and that he had the bosom of his hunting shirt full of them at the time he shot him. He also described him as being armed with a musket with iron bands around it, but being in haste at the time, expecting a pursuit from the men in the block-house, and the gun of no use to him, he had hidden it in the hollow of a fallen tree, a few rods higher up the river. The salt makers listened with intense interest to this portion of the old warrior's feats, as several of them had been not only acquainted with Abel Sherman, but lived with him in the block-house at the time, and all were familiar with the fact of his being killed by the Indians in the manner, and at the place, described by Silver-heels. It so chanced that a son of Mr. Sherman was one of the party; and to satisfy himself of the truth of the statement, he returned directly home. On making search as directed, he found in the rotten wood and earth of the decayed tree, an old musket. The stock was much wasted and the iron corroded, but sufficient was left to identify it as the gun of his father; thus proving the truth of the Indian's statement, that he was personally concerned in the death of Abel Sherman. A few days after this, the dead body of Silver-heels was found by a hunter lying in the ashes of his camp fire, pierced by a rifle bullet. Many years have passed away since this transaction; but the ripple which bears his name still remains, and will continue to be known long after these events are forgotten.

S. P. Hildreth

P. S. This article was written before the late improvements on the Muskingum were made. A dam at the mouth of Bald Eagle creek, just below "Silver-heels' Ripple," I am sorry to say, has obliterated this interesting rapid. Mr. Hackewelder says that the old warrior, Silver-heels, was killed on the way from Coshocton to Detroit by some unknown enemy. Whether there were more than one Indian of this name, I do not know; or it is possible that my informant may have been mistaken as to the proper name of the Indian, but the facts narrated I have reason to believe are correct.

WILL'S LETTER.

We congratulate our readers upon the reception of such valuable documents as the following letter, and the journal of which Mr. Will speaks. They are indeed truly interesting, and will be published entire; they will have a tendency to settle some things that are considered uncertain. We shall much indeed regret if Mr. Will cannot be prevailed upon to write out more of his pioneer soldier experience. It is our intention almost to besiege him for it. When our readers look at his signature, and are informed that every line and letter in the whole composition is fully equal, and ready to go into the printer's hands, without the slightest alteration, they will feel confident that he ought to do his country that service.

We look upon such historical lore as he is in possession of, like gold and diamonds on the brink of a river, which if not soon collected, will by the current soon be carried to the bed of the ocean and lost forever. The journal of lieutenant Boyer will be commenced next month.

Adelphi, May 25th, 1842.

John S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir—The first opportunity that offers of any of my neighbors going to Chillicothe, I will send the old journal I have in my possession to Mr. Ely. It is a journal that contains the daily occurrence of the most important transactions during the campaign of general Anthony Wayne, commencing at Greenville the 28th day of July, 1794, and ending the 2d November following. You will find some things contained therein very interesting, particularly many of the general orders, and the correspondence between general Wayne and the commander of the British garrison at Fort Maumee or Miami, which took place next day after the general battle on the 20th August, 1794. You may rely on the truth of all that is contained in the journal. I was an eye-witness to all that is stated therein. If I had the talent for writing, I could inform you of many transactions that took place in the army; (I joined Wayne's army at Pittsburgh, in August, 1792, and continued therein until I was discharged in Detroit, in April, 1798,) but I am not qualified to write a history of that war.

I will give you a short statement of some of the principal movements of that army. The regular troops destined for the army to be put under the command of general Wayne, were concentrated at Pittsburgh in August and September, '92. On the 12th day of December the army moved down the river about twenty miles and erected huts on the bank of the Ohio, and there remained until the 28th day of April, 1793, when it descended the river in numerous flat boats, containing the troops, munitions of war, provisions, and not less than twenty boat loads of hay for the use of the dragoons, and

arrived at Cincinnati on the 5th day of May, '93; formed our camp at the lower end of the small village of Cincinnati, and called the camp "Hobson's Choice." The army remained there until September following, when it again took up its line of march and arrived at what was afterwards called Fort Greenville, and commenced building huts for winter quarters. On the 24th of December, 1793, general Wayne marched with about one thousand men to the ground where general St. Clair was defeated, and erected a fort on that ground, which was called Fort Recovery. We arrived on that ground on Christmas day, and pitched our tents on the battle ground. Six hundred skulls were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out to make our beds. After the fort was completed, one company of artillery and one company of riflemen were left in the fort, and the balance returned to Greenville. Nothing particular took place until the last day of June and first day of July, 1794. The Indians attacked Fort Recovery, but were repulsed with considerable loss on both sides. Major McMahan, (a braver man never existed,) was killed; he was much regretted by all persons in the army, officers and soldiers. On the 28th of July, 1794, the army left Greenville on the campaign. An account of that campaign, you will find in the journal sent you, written by a lieutenant Boyer. The treaty with the Indians took place at Greenville in the summer of 1795. In the early part of the summer of 1796, the army, with the exception of a small force, left Greenville for the purpose of taking possession of the American forts, to wit: Maumee, Detroit, Mackanac, &c., that had still remained in the hands of the English. If I mistake not, general Wayne left the army at Detroit early in December for his residence in Pennsylvania, but got no further than Erie, where he died.

I forgot to say in the proper place, that in the battle of the 20th August, '94, I received a severe wound through my body, which rendered me unfit for actual service for about two months.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.

Geo. Will

The treaty between France and America was concluded February 6th, 1778, by which the former agreed to join arms with the latter against the British, and occasioned prodigious joy in the army at Valley Forge, and over the whole country.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

It is with satisfaction that we are made acquainted with the various efforts that are making to collect and preserve the history of the country, and delighted will we be, if in any way we can serve the purposes of any man or society of men, in promoting such an object. We offer the pages of the American Pioneer to any such society now formed, or hereafter to be formed.

By societies of the kind, having one organ of communication, they become as it were, one grand operative in the great work. Let the condition of the European nations in relation to their early history, admonish us to be diligent in respect to ours. The darkness in which their ancient history is shrouded, was of necessity from the want of such facilities as we have at command, and which will leave us without excuse. One word to Societies. Beware of receiving as members such persons as thirst for fame, without being willing to acquire it by industry. They will neither do much themselves, nor be willing to see others do it, unless they can be sure to get the credit of it. With ardent desires for success to all such efforts, we introduce to the notice of our readers the

HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORWALK SEMINARY.

The attention of the patrons of Norwalk Seminary, and the friends of Science generally, is respectfully invited to the objects contemplated by this Society. The Society was organized in the fall of 1841. It is believed that many of the citizens of Ohio are now in possession of interesting and important historical facts and incidents, which, though now fresh in the memory of our fathers, if not collected and preserved in some depository, may in a few years be entirely lost. As such facts will constitute essential materials for the future historian of the state, the collection of them will, we trust, meet with the approbation and aid of a generous public. We rejoice at the publication of the "American Pioneer," a monthly periodical recently established at Chillicothe, and devoted especially to this subject.

The subject of Agricultural Geology is now attracting the attention and eliciting the efforts of the first minds in the nation. Ohio is an agricultural state, and the improvement of any department of knowledge connected therewith, must be regarded as a desirable object. The Society hope to engage the attention of those whose lectures or communications will prove a valuable acquisition. It is presumed also, that many will take pleasure in presenting specimens of minerals, and various natural curiosities to augment the cabinet which has been commenced. A room in the Seminary has been appropriated expressly for the purpose of its safe keeping and exhibition, where all donations and contributions will be faithfully recorded and carefully preserved. Contributions either of Historical and Geological facts, or of curiosities for the Cabinet, may be forwarded to Rev. A. Nelson, President of the Society, or to H. Dwight, Secretary.

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. This Association shall be called the Historical and Geological Society of Norwalk Seminary.

ART. II. The object of this Society shall be to collect facts and incidents relating to the early history of Ohio, to advance the science of Geology, particularly as connected with the resources of the state, and to establish a cabinet of Indian relics, minerals, shells, and other natural curiosities.

ART. III. The officers shall consist of a President, Vice President, and a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, elected annually by ballot on the first Wednesday in July.

ART. IV. The officers shall constitute a Board of Managers for the transaction of business, who, besides their peculiar duties, shall have discretionary power to call meetings of the Society, and to take such measures to promote the objects of the Society, as they shall deem proper, not inconsistent with this constitution. The charge of the cabinet shall devolve upon the Secretary.

ART. V. Any person interested in the objects of the Society, may become a member by the nomination of the Board, through the President, and a vote of two-thirds present at any regular meeting. Honorary members may be elected in the same manner.

ART. VI. Every donation shall be labeled with the name and residence of the donor, and in the event of the dissolution of the Society within five years, shall be returned, if demanded, to the donor, otherwise they shall be the property of the Seminary.

ART. VII. This Constitution may be altered or amended by a vote of two-thirds present at any regular meeting.

NORWALK, *Huron Co., O., April* 12, 1842.

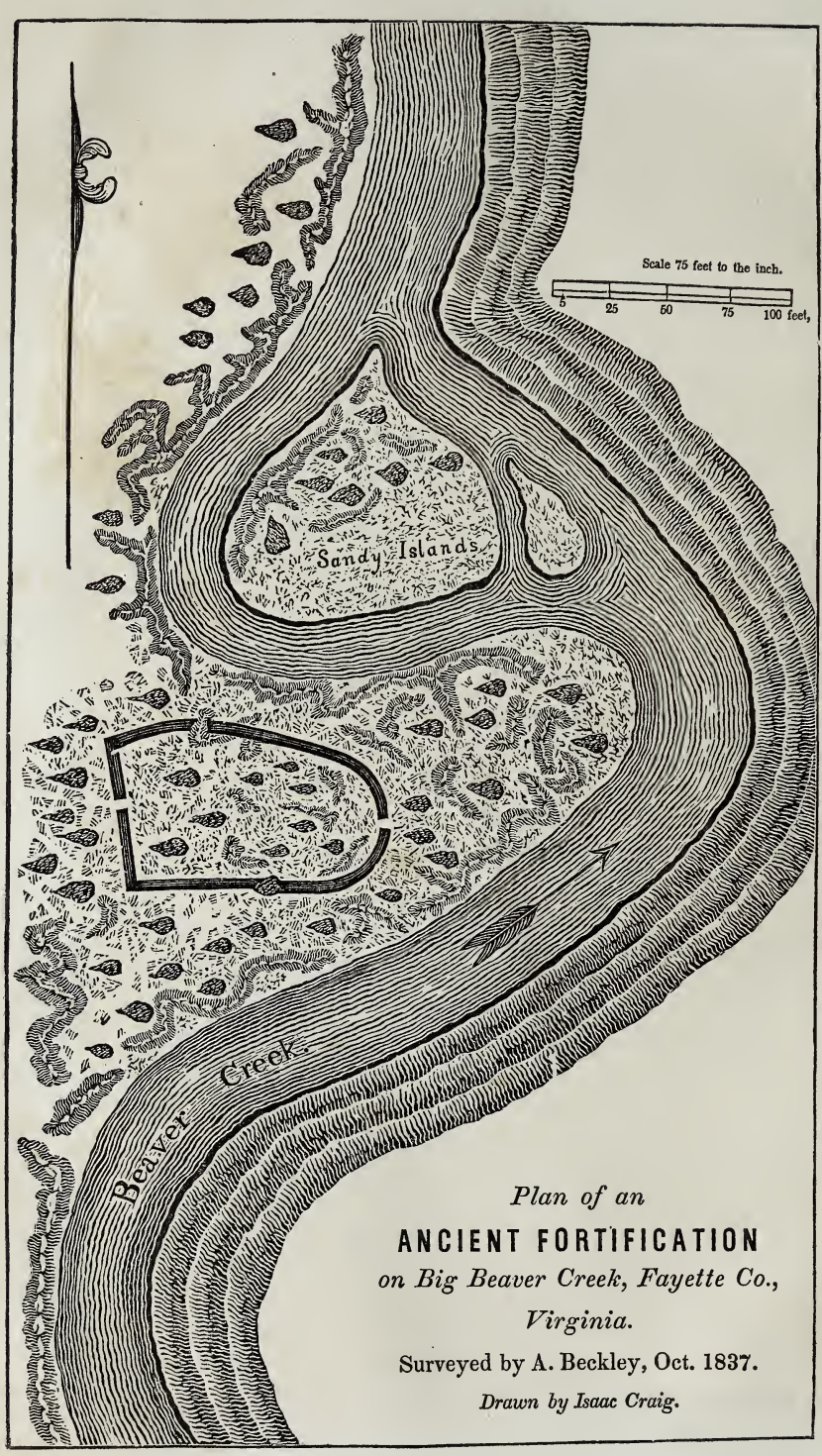
War Department, Oct. 31, 1803.

Sir—There being reason to suspect that the officers of the Spanish government at New Orleans, may decline or refuse to give possession of the country of Louisiana, ceded to the United States by the French Republic, and which Congress have by law authorized the President of the United States to take possession of; and the President having judged it expedient to pursue such measures as will ensure the possession, I have therefore been directed by the President of the United States to request your excellency to assemble, with the least possible delay, five hundred of the militia of the state of Ohio, including a suitable number of officers, and cause the same to be formed into a regiment of eight companies, to be engaged to serve four months, unless sooner discharged, to be mustered in companies and ready to march, if called, by the 20th December, at farthest. After having been so mustered in companies, by suitable persons appointed by your excellency, the men may return to their homes, but must hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice. Each officer and soldier will be entitled to pay from the day they shall receive orders and march to join their respective regiments, until discharged. They will be entitled to the same pay as regular troops in the service of the United States.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, &c.

H. DEARBOURN.

To His Excellency, EDWARD TIFFIN, *Gov. of the State of Ohio.*



Plan of an

ANCIENT FORTIFICATION

on Big Beaver Creek, Fayette Co., Virginia.

Surveyed by A. Beckley, Oct. 1837.

Drawn by Isaac Craig.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER, 1842. NO. IX.

ANCIENT FORTIFICATION.

Pittsburgh, April, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir—The accompanying plan is an accurate representation of an old fortification situated on Big Beaver creek, Fayette county, Va. This work was first surveyed by Mr. Beckley, in October, 1837. I visited it in August of the following year, and must say that you can form no adequate idea, from drawings, of the immense quantity of labor it must have required to erect this fortification. The walls have fallen, or have been thrown down, covering a space of twenty feet from the edge of the fallen stone on the inside to the edge of the fallen stone on the outside. I suppose, from this measurement of the fallen stone, that the walls at the base were about seven feet thick, and that they were about six feet high. The distance from gate-way to gate-way is a little over one hundred feet.

This curious work is situated (as you will perceive) upon a level bottom of some twenty or more acres, and near its extreme point, where the creek makes a sudden bend; and it is evident to a military coup d'œil that the creek was intended to serve as a wet and formidable ditch, for cleared of laurel and timber, as we may presume the point then was, and during most of the year the creek presenting a rapid current, if not very deep, and of average width of fifteen yards, with banks perhaps six feet abrupt ascent, the garrison could have swept all its approaches with their arrows, &c. The three northern faces are evidently so placed as to enfilade an enemy approaching up the creek, or from the small sandy islands, while the southern face opposes the approach down the creek. The terra plane of the fort, and the point of land on which it stands, are covered with heavy timber, chiefly white and spruce pine, and a dense growth of laurel trees, some of which are fifteen or twenty feet high. At present the wall is little over three feet high above the terra plane—which, by the by, I should mention, is lower than the outer circumjacent surface. It was suggested by an old hunter (the discoverer of this work) that the ground had been beaten down by the tramp of

men; but this could not be, for the first frost would have raised the ground to its original height. Again, it has been suggested that the work was a cattle pen, and that the mud that would necessarily accumulate in such a place, had been carried out on the feet of the cattle. The idea of this work being a pen for cattle, is at once dispelled by looking at the drawing. The position and disposition of the work proves it to be of a military character.

The walls, to all appearance, were faced inside and outside with dry masonry and filled in with smaller stones; there are two small pieces of inside facing still standing—one in the southwestern angle of the work, the other at the north side of the eastern gateway: this piece of facing, which is the butt of the northeast circular face, have their joints well broken.

The stone of which this work is built, is evidently fractured by percussion. The stone, as they lie, are edges up; evidently the fallen faces of the walls. It may be well to remark that the bottom land, on which this work is situated, presents no appearance of rock or stones whatever. The soil is extremely rich; it is jet black and is very light. The ground, when I visited it, was covered with fern breast high.

You will perceive by the drawing, that the hills on the opposite side of the creek from the work come sharp up to the creek.

Large pine trees have taken possession of all the salient angles, as if to perpetuate the form of the work. The *area* of this work is about twenty square rods. At *a* there is a spruce pine six feet eight inches in girth growing on the wall.

Isaac Craig

Columbia, June 18, 1789.

Sir,—After my respects to you and family, I would inform you that after further deliberation on the subject of the second purchase, that if you should find it valued, that you would endeavor to purchase or come in with the owners of the point, if you can find who they are, so that we may hold some lots in and some out. Sir, do what you can, and we will be on the same terms of the article of agreement betwixt us. This from your humble servant,

Benjamin Stites

To John S. Gano, Washington.

WILLIAM PITT.

A BRIEF account of the life of a man so highly distinguished as the friend of liberty among her stoutest foes as William Pitt, (in honor of whom Pittsburgh received its name) cannot be unacceptable to the readers of the American Pioneer. We extract it from the Literary Magazine of 1806.

"WILLIAM PITT, afterwards earl of Chatham, inherited but a scanty patrimony, and though he had recourse to the profession of arms for support, never rose higher than a cornet of horse. What was wanting, however, in wealth, was abundantly supplied by talents, for nature lavished on him her choicest store, and formed him on the model of ancient times."

"Having opposed sir Robert Walpole, that minister meanly deprived him of his commission; but this proved no obstacle to his advancement in the state, for in 1756 he became minister. His administration forms the most illustrious portion of the British annals, and it is memorable in every point of view. During that period, so able were his plans, and so original, and yet judicious, the manner in which they were executed, that, notwithstanding a strong opposition in the cabinet, the nation united in his support. Despising narrow prejudices, he was the first to call forth all the resources of the empire, by employing indiscriminately all its inhabitants; and with this collected mass he smote the French monarchy with a blow, from which it could never have recovered had he been supported in that quarter where he had the strongest claims. Thus the early portion of the reign of George III. became clouded by his dismission, and men of penetration began to forebode the most disastrous events.

"Retiring, though not in disgrace, the wishes of the people still followed him; nor did he ever betray their confidence, for he persevered to the last moment of his life in those principles which he had early avowed. Two of the great objects on which his noble mind was constantly employed during the latter years of his life, appear to have been a reform in parliament, without which he prognosticated the most fatal evils, and an immediate conclusion to the American war, the disasters of which but too clearly he anticipated."

"He may be said to have died as he had lived, in the service of his country: for, having fainted in consequence of his violent exertions in the house of peers, he was seized with a malady which speedily conducted him to his grave."

"The demise of Chatham was lamented by all parties; as during his ministry no inroads were made on public liberty, and as he had no enemies but those of his country, his death was counted a public calamity. The parliament which had despised his counsels unanimously voted him a funeral at the public expence, in Westminster Abbey, and a pension of four thousand pounds per annum to his heirs, annexed in perpetuity to the title which he had so gloriously acquired for *them*, rather than himself."

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF PITTSBURGH.

In writing a history of the prosperous city which now stands at the head of the Ohio, it is not necessary to look very far back. There are now living many persons, not yet arrived at extreme old age, whose memories extend beyond the time when a white man first attempted to make a settlement at the "Forks of the Ohio," the site of the city of Pittsburgh.

The governor of Canada, with that enterprising ambition so characteristic of Frenchmen, had formed a vast scheme for the connection of Canada with Louisiana, by a line of well selected posts, to be extended from the Lakes to the Mississippi. It was hoped that this scheme, if successful, would not only contribute to the mutual advantage of those distant provinces, but would also circumscribe the bounds of the English colonies, and effectually destroy their trade and influence with the Indians. A post had already been established at the mouth of French creek, where the village of Franklin now stands, and preparations were making to take possession of "the Forks," at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. The governor of Virginia, becoming alarmed by the intelligence he had received of the progress of the French, despatched GEORGE WASHINGTON from that state with instructions to proceed to Fort Venango, (the name of the Fort at French creek,) to demand an explanation of their designs from the French commandant. On his way to Fort Venango, on the 23d of November, 1753, he arrived at the spot which Pittsburgh now covers. While here he carefully examined the ground, and thought it a very suitable position for the erection of a military post. From a careful perusal of his journal, it seems manifest, that there was not, at that time, a single white resident within the limits of our present city.

In the ensuing spring, the Virginia Ohio Company made arrangements to take permanent possession of the country near the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and had commenced the erection of a redoubt, to secure their possession. On the 17th April, 1754, before this redoubt was completed, Monsieur de Contrecœur, a French officer, with three hundred canoes, containing one thousand Frenchmen and Indians, and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived here from Fort Venango, and compelled ensign Ward, who commanded the party engaged in erecting the redoubt, to surrender. The capture of this small detachment of troops was the first open act of hostility committed by the French, and may be considered as the commencement of a war which continued for nine years, and which agitated the two continents, from the banks of the Ganges to the head of the Ohio. From the 17th April, 1754, to the 24th November, 1758, the French retained possession of this place; and this position gave them an influence over the neighboring tribes of Indians, which was so used as to inflict upon the frontier settlers much distress and bloodshed. The importance of this position in a military point of view, was duly appreciated, and early and energetic measures were adopted to expel the French. The expedition and defeat of general Braddock, on the 9th July, 1755, are notorious events, the account of

which is not necessary to repeat in this sketch. In 1758, a formidable army was assembled at Carlisle, under the command of general Forbes. On the 14th September, 1758, major Grant, who had been detached in advance from Loyal-hanna, with eight hundred men, was surrounded by the enemy, on the hill which has since borne his name, and lost above three hundred men killed or taken prisoners, and himself shared the latter fate. General Forbes, however, undismayed by this disaster, pressed forward, and having on the 24th November, 1758, arrived within one day's march of Fort du Quesne, the French having set fire to the fort, abandoned it, and descended by the Ohio to their posts on the Mississippi. On the next day general Forbes took possession of the abandoned post, having hastily repaired the fortifications and garrisoned them with four hundred and fifty men, principally Provincials, from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, under colonel Mercer—the general marched the rest of the troops to Lancaster, Reading, and Philadelphia.

In 1763 an arrangement was made between the Shawanese, and other tribes of Indians, along the lakes, and on the Ohio, and its tributary streams, to attack, simultaneously, all the English posts and frontier settlements. In the execution of this plan, they captured Le Bœuf, Venango, Presquile, Michilimackinac, and various other posts, which were feebly garrisoned, and murdered all the prisoners. As a part of this great scheme of operations, Fort Pitt was completely surrounded by the Indians, who cut off all communication with the interior of the country, and greatly annoyed the garrison by an incessant discharge of musketry and arrows. The commanding officer, captain Ewyer, and the garrison, (which was increased by the Indian traders, who had escaped massacre and taken refuge in the fort) made a gallant defense.

Colonel Bouquet was detached from Carlisle, to relieve the beleaguered post, and after a severe conflict with the Indians at Bushy Run, he arrived at Fort Pitt on the 9th of August, 1763. In the action of the 5th August, 1763, the Indians were severely handled, several of their principal chiefs were killed, and they were so much dispirited that they immediately abandoned their operations against Fort Pitt, and retired to their towns on the Muskingum and farther west. In October, 1764, colonel Bouquet marched on an expedition against the Indian towns on the Muskingum. He reached the Indian towns near the forks of that river, without opposition, and there dictated terms of peace to them.

It was during this year, 1764, probably after the treaty had removed all fear of the Indians, that the old military plan, being that portion of the city lying between Water street and Second street, and between Market and Ferry streets, was laid out. During this year, also, was erected the brick redoubt still standing, a little west of Stanwix street, and north of Penn street, being the only remaining monument of British industry within our city limits. In a stone block, in the south face of this redoubt, is still to be seen this inscription, "Col. Bouquet, A. D. 1764."

From this time until the close of the Revolutionary War, but little improvement was made at Pittsburgh. The fear of Indian hostilities,

or the actual existence of Indian warfare, prevented emigration. In 1775, the number of dwelling houses within the limits of our present city, did not, according to the most authentic accounts, exceed twenty-five or thirty.

During the Revolution, the Penn family were adherents of the British government, and in 1779, the legislature of this state confiscated all their property, except certain manors, &c., of which surveys had been actually made and returned into the land office, prior to the 4th of July, 1776, and also, except any estates which said Penns held in their private capacities, by device, purchase or descent. Pittsburgh and the country eastward of it and south of the Monongahela, containing about 5,800 acres, composed one of these manors, and of course remained as the property of the Penns.

In the spring of 1784, arrangements were made by Mr. Tench Francis, the agent of the Penns, to lay out the manor of Pittsburgh, in town lots and out-lots, to sell them without delay. For this purpose he engaged Mr. George Woods, of Bedford, an experienced surveyor, to execute this work. In May, 1784, Mr. Woods arrived here, bringing with him, as the operative surveyor, Mr. Thomas Vickroy, of Bedford county, who was then a very young man, and who still survives and enjoys vigorous health, at a good old age. Through their activity and industry, the work was soon completed, and the lots and out-lots being placed in market, seem to have been very rapidly purchased. From this time improvement seems to have commenced here—mechanics and traders composed a greater proportion of the population. In 1784, Arthur Lee, a conspicuous diplomatist during our Revolution, was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Indians, and on his way passed through Pittsburgh. In his journal we find the following notice of this place: "Pittsburgh is inhabited ALMOST ENTIRELY by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as if in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt., from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour, and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable." If Mr. Lee could now visit the valley of the head of the Ohio, he would find here, a free white population exceeding that of the six largest cities and towns in the Old Dominion. The appearance of Pittsburgh at that time, was not such as would excite extravagant expectations. A small town, composed of two or three brick redoubts, converted into dwelling houses, and some forty or fifty round or hewn log buildings, inhabited principally by poor mechanics and laborers, would have a very discouraging aspect to the eye of a Virginia gentleman, who had visited London, Paris, and Madrid. But those mechanics and laborers were free, had the directions of their own exertions, were industrious, were striving for the advantage of themselves and their offspring, and the possession and enjoyment of the produce

of their own labor were secured to them by equal laws. These circumstances, aided by the natural advantages of this situation, in less than fifty years converted a village of a few petty log houses, into a large, wealthy, and rapidly increasing city.

Discouraging as were the appearance of things in 1784, yet in 1786 John Scull and Joseph Hall, two poor but enterprising young men, boldly determined to risk their little all in a printing establishment here, and on the 29th of July of that year issued the first number of the Pittsburgh Gazette. The publication of a paper, by disseminating information and attracting attention to the place, no doubt contributed to the growth of the town; it therefore deserves to be mentioned as one of the causes of the rise of a frontier village to a great city.

About this time the tide of emigration from Pennsylvania and Virginia to Kentucky commenced, and in its progress it contributed to the advancement of the place, not only by leaving portions of the funds of the emigrants in exchange for the means of transportation and supplies, but by occasionally leaving here some of the emigrants themselves.

The Indian wars, too, which raged on our northern and western frontier, until Wayne's treaty in 1795, by collecting here large bodies of troops, thus creating a demand for the produce of farms and shops, contributed greatly to the prosperity and growth of our town. On the 24th September, 1788, an act passed creating the county of Allegheny, out of parts of Washington and Westmoreland counties. By this act the courts were appointed to be held at Pittsburgh, until certain trustees, named in the act, should erect suitable buildings on the reserved tract opposite Pittsburgh. By the act of the 13th of April, 1791, this provision of the act of 1788 was repealed, and the trustees were authorized and required to purchase lots in Pittsburgh for a court house and jail.

The creation of a separate county, and the consequent establishment of county offices, and the frequent assemblage here of jurors, suitors, and witnesses, operated to the advantage and improvement of the place. The most important event, however, in the early history of our town, was the Western Insurrection, in 1794. This disturbance compelled the government to send a large number of troops to this neighborhood. These troops were principally volunteers; active, enterprising young men, many of whom were so pleased with Pittsburgh and the surrounding country, that after performing their tour of duty, they returned home merely to make the necessary arrangements for a permanent settlement here. From that time the progress of the city has been regular and scarcely interrupted, except by the reaction which took place after the late war.

In addition to the foregoing "Brief Sketch," a few statistical and historical facts relative to the progress of our town, at an early period, will here be added.

In an article written by the late Judge Brackenridge, then a young attorney, and published in the first number of the Pittsburgh Gazette, the number of houses in the town of Pittsburgh was stated to be about one hundred.—Allowing to each house five inhabitants, which is probably quite enough, the population would be about five hundred.

In the Pittsburgh Gazette of the 9th of January, 1796, we find the following paragraph:

"The number of inhabitants in the borough of Pittsburgh, as taken by the assessors, during the last week, amounts to *one thousand three hundred and ninety-five.*" This is the earliest authentic account of the population of this place.

In a description of the country at the head of the Ohio, published in the fourth and fifth numbers of the Pittsburgh Gazette, on the 19th and 26th of August, 1786, we find some statements which may be interesting.

1st. It appears that there was then settled in the town, one clergyman of the Calvinistic church, Samuel Barr, and one of the German Calvinistic church, *occasionally* preached here.

2. It is stated also, that "a church of squared timber and moderate dimensions is on the way to be built." This church stood within the ground now covered by the First Presbyterian church.

3. There were two gentlemen of the medical faculty then here. One we know, was Dr. Bedford.

4. There were also two lawyers here. These, we presume, were the late Judge Brackenridge and John Woods.

5. Carriages from Philadelphia were then six pence for each pound weight. The writer makes the following prediction. "However improved the conveyance may be, and by whatever channel, the importation of heavy articles will still be expensive. The manufacturing them, therefore, *will become more an object here than elsewhere.*"

Pittsburgh was then (1786) in Westmoreland county, and the inhabitants had to travel to Hanna's town, about thirty miles, to attend court.

In the Pittsburgh Gazette of September 30, 1786, there is the following extract of a letter, dated,

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 14, 1786.

"Mr. Brison has just returned from New York, with orders to establish a post from this place to Pittsburgh, and one from Virginia to Bedford.—The two to meet at Bedford."

Prior to that time there was no regular mail to this place, and the then printers of the Gazette and other inhabitants had to depend upon casual travelers.

In the Gazette of March 10, 1787, it is mentioned that "a meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh had been held on the 1st instant, and that Messrs. Hugh Ross, Stephen Bayard, and the Rev. Samuel Barr, had been appointed a committee to report a plan for building a *market house* and establishing market days." The citizens were also invited to meet the committee in the public square on Monday the 12th instant, to hear their report. Soon afterwards the first market house was erected near the corner of Second and Market streets, where Beale's tavern now stands.

During the session of the legislature of 1786–7, an act was passed "for the establishment of an academy or public school at Pittsburgh, and another for the incorporation of the Church of Pittsburgh," being in fact the first Presbyterian church.

The first act for the incorporation of the *borough* of Pittsburgh,

was passed on the 22nd of April, 1794. The act to incorporate the *City* of Pittsburgh, was passed on the 18th of March, 1816.

From 1790 to 1800, the business of Pittsburgh and the West was small, but gradually improving, the fur trade of the West was very important, and Messrs. Peter Maynard and William Morrison were engaged largely in it, and from 1790 to 1796, received considerable supplies of goods, through Mr. Guy Bryan, a wealthy merchant in Philadelphia, and the goods were taken to Kaskaskia in a barge, which annually returned to Pittsburgh, laden with bear, buffaloe, and deer skins, and furs and peltries of all kinds, which were sent to Mr. Bryan, and the barge returned, laden with goods; at that period there was no regular drayman in Pittsburgh, and the goods were generally hauled from the boats with a three horse wagon, until (in 1797) a Mr. James Rattle, an Englishman, settled in this city, and was encouraged to take up the business, and drayed and stored goods, until a box of dry goods was stolen from his yard, and shed, (for then we had no warehouse, nor regular commission merchant, in Pittsburgh,) and this broke the poor man up, and he died broken-hearted and unhappy.

A French gentleman, Louis Anastasius Tarasçon,* emigrated in 1794, from France, and established himself in Philadelphia, as a merchant; he was a large importer of silks, and all kinds of French and German goods; being very wealthy and enterprising, in 1799 he sent two of his clerks, Charles Brugiere and James Berthoud, to examine the course of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and ascertain the practicability of sending ships and clearing them from this port, ready rigged, to the West Indies and Europe. Those two gentlemen returned to Philadelphia, reported favorably, and Mr. Tarasçon associated them and his brother, John Anthony, with himself, under the firm of "John A. Tarasçon, brothers, James Berthoud, & Co.," and immediately established, in Pittsburgh, a large wholesale and retail store and warehouse, a ship yard, a rigging and sail loft, an anchor smith shop, a block manufactory, and in short every thing necessary to complete vessels for sea. The first year, 1801, they built the schooner Amity, of 120 tons, and the ship Pittsburgh, of 250 tons; and sent the former, loaded with flour, to St. Thomas, and the other, also with flour, to Philadelphia, from whence they sent them to Bordeaux, and brought back a cargo of wine, brandy, and other French goods, part of which they sent here in wagons at a carriage of from six to eight cents per pound. In 1802, they built the brig Nanino, of 250 tons,—in 1803, the ship Louisiana, of 300 tons, —and in 1804, the ship Western Trader, of 400 tons.

In or about the year 1796, three of the royal princes of Orleans came to Pittsburgh, and stopped at a hotel, situated on the bank of the Monongahela, where Jno. D. Davis' warehouse now stands; they were very affable and conversant, and remained for some time in the city; at length they procured a large skiff, part of which was covered with tow linen, laid in a supply of provisions, and (having procured two men to row the skiff,) proceeded on to New Orleans. One of these princes was Louis Philippe, the present king of France; who,

* These facts have been furnished by Anthony Beelen, Esq., an early merchant.

in his exile, visited our city, and spent his time very agreeably with general Neville, general James O'Hara, and several other respectable families, who then lived on the bank of the Monongahela river.

Having lived in Pittsburgh forty years, the most of which time we have been actively engaged in business, in the busy throng of trade, and having in early times traveled a good deal, we present a variety of facts and statistics, in the course of our work, to shew by way of contrast, not only what Pittsburgh—but Wheeling, Erie, Cleaveland, Chambersburgh, and a number of flourishing towns and cities, were in our early days, and what, by their real business, they are now. Facts that will shew, that in about forty years, our own time, these United States, and especially our range and portion of it, have exceeded in growth, population, improvement, and wealth, any nation on the face of the earth; for we remember well during the embargo times and last war, when the internal trade and commerce of Pittsburgh, by the Ohio, western, and southern rivers, brought us comparatively nigh to Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, St. Louis, Natchez, and New Orleans—but the slow process of keel boats and barges was such, that it consumed almost a whole summer for a trip down and up,—when all was done by the hardy boatman, with the pole or by warping,—and when a barge arrived, with furs from St. Louis, cotton from Natchez, hemp, tobacco, and saltpetre from Maysville, or sugar and cotton from New Orleans and Natchez, it was a wonder to the many, and drew vast crowds to see and rejoice over it; and the internal commerce during the war, allied us closely with Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, these cities getting much of their sugar, saltpetre, &c., by boats and wagons, through Pittsburgh, which then did an immense carrying trade for the United States.

Since the steam boats, canals, turnpikes, rail roads, and other public improvements have afforded vast additional facilities for supplying the great, wide-spread, and wonderful West with goods and manufactures of all kinds, and transporting her rich and inexhaustless supplies of tobacco, lead, iron, cotton, sugar, molasses, flour, furs, peltries, &c. &c. to the eastern cities, who, we ask, can measure, count, or estimate the immense magnitude of this trade in future years and ages, as the country teems with her millions upon millions of sober, intelligent, industrious, productive citizens, and her rich prolific soil; and especially, in times such as we have seen and passed through; wars in Europe, and wars in our own country, and our foreign trade and commerce, embargoed and cut up?

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EARLY STATISTICS OF PITTSBURGH.

1768. South-western portion of western Pennsylvania purchased from the Indians.

Commencement of Indian wars in western Pennsylvania.

1775. Land east of the Allegheny river, to the west branch of the Susquehannah, open for settlement; and mostly taken up by rapacious speculations.

1792. West of the Allegheny river in Pennsylvania open for settlement.
1795. Treaty of Greenville and cessation of Indian hostilities.
1804. Pittsburgh magazine commenced.
1807. Pittsburgh has but one glass-house, one air-furnace, fifty stores, four nail factories (worked by hand,) no steam engines employed. Houses, 767. Population, 4,740.
1813. Houses, 958.
1817. Pittsburgh has five glass-houses, four air-furnaces, one hundred and nine stores. Manufactures four hundred tons of nails by steam.
Eight steam engines moving mills.
1,303 houses; 8,000 inhabitants.
March 18.—Organized under city charter.
Steamer New Orleans burnt at New Orleans.
Steamer Franklin and Buffalo built.

Treasury Department, October 9, 1801.

Sir—The President of the United States having thought proper to appoint you a Commissioner under the fourth section of an act of Congress, passed March 3d, 1801, entitled "An Act giving a right of pre-emption to certain persons who have contracted with John Cleves Symmes, or his associates, for lands lying between the Miami rivers, in the Territory of the United States, north-west of the Ohio," I enclose to you herewith a commission for that purpose.

The duties to be performed and the compensation to be allowed to you therefor, being fully detailed in the act above recited, I shall only remark, that as the commissions will not arrive in time to admit of the three weeks notice required by the law, all practicable means should be employed to apprise the parties concerned of the appointment of the commissioners, as well through the medium of the newspaper published at Cincinnati, as by handbills posted up in the neighboring districts. As it will be proper, however, that the commissioners should act in concert in this and all other matters confided to them, I beg leave to recommend that a meeting be immediately held for that purpose. I am, very respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. Gallatin

William Goforth, Esq, at Cincinnati.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ISAAC WILLIAMS.

CHAPTER. I.

Early reminiscences should be preserved—Isaac Williams' birth and adventures—A distressing occurrence—Settlement and explorations—Land entries—Marries Rebecca Martin—Her prowess—Her medical skill—Their wedding—Indian troubles.

To us who are now enjoying the benefits of the toils and dangers of the early explorers and pioneers of the valley of the Ohio, there ought to be no more pleasant employment than that of recounting their exploits, and preserving the remembrances of their names. It is a duty we owe to their memory. Amongst that hardy list of adventurers, on the left bank of the Ohio, I know the name of no one more worthy of preservation than that of Isaac Williams.

He was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, the 16th day of July, 1737. While he was quite a boy his parents moved to Winchester, Virginia, then a frontier town. Soon after this event his father died, and his mother married Mr. Buckley. When he was about eighteen years old, the colonial government employed him as a ranger, or spy, to watch and observe the movements of the Indians, for which his early acquaintance with a hunter's life eminently fitted him. In this capacity he served in the army of general Braddock. He also formed one of the party who guarded the first convoy of provisions to Fort Du Quesne, after its surrender to general Forbes in 1758. The stores were carried on pack horses over the rough declivities of the mountains, continually exposed to the attack of the Indians, for which the deep ravines and narrow ridges of the mountain ranges afforded every facility. After the peace made with the Indians in 1765, by colonel Bouquet, the country on the waters of the Monongahela began to be settled by the people east of the mountains. Amongst the early emigrants to this region were the parents of Mr. Williams, whom he conducted across the mountains in 1768, but did not finally locate himself in the west till the following year, when he settled on the waters of Buffalo creek, near the present town of West Liberty. He accompanied Ebenezer and Jonathan Zane, when they explored and located the country about Wheeling, in 1769. Previous to this period, however, he made several hunting excursions to the waters of the Ohio.

In returning from one of these adventurous expeditions in company with two other men in the winter of 1767, the following incident befell him. Early in December, as they were crossing the glades of the Allegheny mountains, they were overtaken by a violent snow storm. This is always a stormy cold region, but on the present occasion the

snow fell to the depth of five or six feet, and put a stop to their further progress. It was followed by intensely cold weather. While confined in this manner to their camp, with a scanty supply of food and no chance of procuring more by hunting, one of his companions was taken sick and died, partly from disease and partly from having no food but the tough indigestible skins of their peltry, from which the hair had been signed off at the camp fire and then boiled in their kettle. Soon after the death of this man, his remaining companion, from the difficulty of procuring fuel, became so much frozen in the feet that he could render Mr. Williams no further assistance. He contrived, however, to bury the dead man in the snow. The feet of this man were so badly frosted that he lost all his toes and a part of each foot, thus rendering him entirely unable to travel for a period of nearly two months. During this time their food consisted of the few remnants of their skins, and their drink of melted snow. The kind heart of Mr. Williams would not allow him to leave his friend in this suffering condition while he went to the nearest settlement for aid, lest he should be attacked by wild beasts or perish for want of sustenance. With a patience and fortitude that would have awarded him a civic crown in the best days of the chivalrous Romans, he remained with his helpless friend until he was so far restored to health as to enable him to accompany him in his return to his home. So much reduced was his own strength, from starvation and cold, that it was many months before his usual health was restored.

In 1769, he became a resident of the western wilds, and made his home on the waters of Buffalo creek. Here he found himself in a wide field for the exercise of his darling passion, hunting. From his boyhood he had displayed a great relish for a hunter's life, and in this employment he for several years explored the recesses of the western wilds, and followed the water courses of the great valley to the mouth of the Ohio; and from thence along the shores of the Mississippi to the banks of the turbid Missouri. As early as the year 1770 he trapped the beaver on the tributaries of this river, and returned in safety with a rich load of furs.

During the prime of his life he was occupied in hunting and in making entries of lands. This was done by girdling a few trees and planting a small patch of corn. This operation entitled the person to four hundred acres of land. Entries of this kind were very aptly called "Tomahawk improvements." An enterprising man could make a number of these in a season, and sell them to persons who, coming later into the country, had not so good an opportunity to select prime lands as the first adventurers. Mr. Williams sold many of

these "rignts" for a few dollars, or the value of a rifle gun, which was then thought a fair equivalent, of so little account was land then considered; and besides, like other hunters of his day, thought wild lands of little value except as hunting grounds. There was, however, another advantage attached to these simple claims; it gave the possessor the right of entering one thousand acres of land adjoining the improvement, on condition of his paying a small sum per acre into the treasury of the state of Virginia. These entries were denominated "pre-emption rights," and many of the richest lands on the left bank of the Ohio river are now held under these early titles. As Virginia then claimed all the lands on the north-west side of the Ohio, many similar entries were made at this early day on the right bank, and also on the rich alluvions of the Muskingum, as high up as the falls—one tract, a few miles above Marietta, is still known as "Wiseman's bottom," after the man who made a "tomahawk entry" at that place. After the cession of the lands or the territory north-west of the river Ohio to the United States, these early claims were forfeited.

While occupied in these pursuits, he became acquainted with Rebecca Martin, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Tomlinson, of Grave creek, then a young widow, and married her in October, 1775. Her former husband, John Martin, had been a trader among the Indians, and was killed on the Big Hockhocking in the year 1770. A man by the name of Hartness, her uncle on the mother's side, was killed with him at the same time by the Shawanee Indians. As a striking proof of the veneration of the Indians for William Penn and the people of his colony, two men from Pennsylvania who were with them were spared. The two killed were from Virginia. The fact is referred to by lord Dunmore, in his speech at the Indian treaty near Chillicothe, in the year 1774. Mr. Williams accompanied Dunmore in this campaign, and acted as a ranger until its close.

By this marriage Mr. Williams became united to a woman whose spirit was congenial to his own. She was born the 14th of February, 1754, at Will's creek, on the Potomac, in the province of Maryland, and had removed with her father's family to Grave creek in 1771. Since her residence in the western country, she had lived with her brothers, Samuel and Joseph, as their house keeper, near the mouth of Grave creek; and for weeks together, while they were absent on tours of hunting, she was left entirely alone. She was now in her twenty-first year; full of life and activity, and as fearless of danger as the man who had chosen her for his companion. One proof of her courageous spirit is related by her niece, Mrs. Bukey. In the spring

of the year 1774, she made a visit to a sister, who was married to a Mr. Baker, then living on the Ohio river opposite the mouth of Yellow creek. It was soon after the time of the massacre of Logan's relatives at Baker's station. Having finished her visit, she prepared to return home in a canoe by herself, the traveling being chiefly done by water. The distance from her sister's to Grave creek was about fifty miles. She left there in the afternoon, and paddled her light canoe rapidly along until dark. Knowing that the moon would rise at a certain hour she landed, and fastening the slender craft to the willows, she leaped on shore; and, lying down in a thick clump of bushes, waited patiently the rising of the moon. As soon as it had cleared the tops of the trees and began to shed its cheerful rays over the dark bosom of the Ohio, she prepared to embark. The water being shallow near the shore, she had to wade a few paces before reaching the canoe; when just in the act of stepping on board, her naked foot rested on the dead cold body of an Indian, who had been killed a short time before; and which, in the gloom of the night, she had not discovered in landing. Without flinching or screaming, she stepped lightly into the canoe, with the reflection that she was thankful he was not alive. Resuming the paddle she reached the mouth of Grave creek in safety early the following morning.

Walter Scott's Rebecca, the Jewess, was not more celebrated for her cures and skill in treating wounds, than was Rebecca Williams amongst the honest borderers of the Ohio river. About the year 1785, while living a short time at Wheeling, on account of Indian depredations, she, with the assistance of Mrs. Zane, dressed the wounds of Thomas Mills, who was wounded in fourteen places by rifle shots. He with three other men were spearing fish by torch light about a mile above the garrison when they were fired on by a party of Indians secreted on the shore. Mills stood in the bow of the canoe holding a torch, and, as he was a fair mark, received the most of the shots—the others escaped unhurt—one arm and one leg were broken in addition to the flesh wounds. Had he been in the regular service with plenty of surgeons, he probably would have lost one or both limbs by amputation. But this being out of the question here, where no surgeon could be procured, these women, with their fomentations and simple applications of slippery elm bark, not only cured his wounds, at the time deemed impossible, and restored him to health, but also saved both his limbs. Many years after this, while the writer of this article was attending on a man with a compound fracture of the leg from the kick of a horse, and who was lying near her residence, she was present at one of the dressings, and related

several of her cures in border times. She said her principal dressings were made of slippery elm, the leaves of stramonium, or "jimson," and daily ablutions with warm water.

Their marriage was as unostentatious and as simple as the manners and habits of the party. A traveling preacher happening to come into the settlement, as they sometimes did, though rarely, they were married without any previous preparation of nice dresses, bride cakes, or bride maids—he standing up in a hunting dress, and she in a short gown and petticoat of homespun, the common wear of the country.

In the summer of 1774, the year before her marriage, she was one morning busily occupied in kindling a fire preparatory to breakfast, with her back to the door on her knees puffing away at the coals. Hearing some one step cautiously on to the floor, she looked round and beheld a tall Indian close to her side. He made a motion of silence to her, at the same time shaking his tomahawk in a threatening manner if she made any alarm. He, however, did not offer to harm her; but looking carefully round the cabin he espied her brother Samuel's rifle hanging on the hooks over the fire place. This he seized upon, and fearing the arrival of some of the men hastened his departure without any further damage. While he was with her in the house, she preserved her presence of mind and betrayed no marks of fear; but no sooner was he gone, however, than she left the cabin and secreted herself in the corn till her brother came in. Samuel was lame at the time, but happened to be out of the way; so that it is probable his life might have been saved from this circumstance. It was but seldom that the Indians killed unresisting women or children, except in the excitement of an attack and when they had met with opposition from the men. In 1777, two years after their marriage, the depredations and massacres of the Indians were so frequent that the settlement at Grave creek, now consisting of several families, was broken up. It was the frontier station, and lower on the Ohio than any other, above the mouth of the Big Kenawha. It was in this year that the Indians made their great attack on the fort at Wheeling. Mr. Williams and his wife, with her father's family, Mr. Joseph Tomlinson, moved on to the Monongahela river above Redstone, old fort. Here he remained until the spring of the year 1783, when he returned with his wife and Mr. Tomlinson to their plantations on Grave creek. In the year 1785, he had to remove again from his farm into the garrison at Wheeling.

(*To be continued.*)

DAILY JOURNAL OF WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN,

From July 28th to November 2d, 1794, including an account of the memorable battle of 20th August.

Fort Greenville—where we were employed in erecting huts, and remained until the 28th July, 1794.

Camp at Stillwater, 28th July, 1794.—Agreeable to the general order of yesterday, the legion took up their line of march at eight o'clock, and encamped at half past three on the bank of Stillwater, twelve miles from Greenville. The weather extremely warm—water very bad. Nothing occurred worth noticing.

Camp one mile in advance of Fort Recovery, 29th July, 1794.—At five o'clock left the camp—arrived on this ground at one o'clock, being fifteen miles. Nothing took place worth reciting.

I am now informed that tracks were perceived on our right flank, supposed to be runners from the Oglaize.

Camp Beaver Swamp, eleven miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 30th July, 1794.—This morning the legion took up the line of march, and arrived here at 3 o'clock. The road was to cut, as will be the case on every new route we take in this country. The weather still warm—no water except in ponds, which nothing but excessive thirst would induce us to drink. The musquetoes are very troublesome, and larger than I ever saw. The most of this country is covered with beech, the land of a wet soil intermixed with rich tracts, but no running water to be found.

A bridge to be built over this swamp to-morrow, which prevents the march of the legion till the day after. We are informed there is no water for twelve miles.

July 31, 1794.—Commenced building the bridge, being seventy yards in length, which will require infinite labor; it will be five feet deep, with loose mud and water.

One hundred pioneers set out this morning, strongly escorted, to cut a road to the St. Mary's river, twelve miles. I expect the bridge will be completed so as to march early in the morning.

Camp St. Mary's River, 1st August, 1794.—Proceeded on our way before sun-rise, and arrived at this place at three o'clock, being twelve miles as aforesaid. Our encampment is on the largest and most beautiful prairie I ever beheld, the land rich and well timbered; the water plenty but very bad—the river is from forty-five to fifty yards wide, in which I bathed. I am told there is plenty of fish in it.

August 2nd, 1794.—The legion detained here for the purpose of erecting a garrison, which will take up three days. This day one of

the deputy quarter-masters was taken up by the Indians. Our spies discovered where four of the enemy had retreated precipitately with a horse, and supposed to be the party the above person had been taken by. It is hoped he will not give accurate information of our strength.

August 3rd, 1794.—An accident took place this day by a tree falling on the commander-in-chief and nearly putting an end to his existence; we expected to be detained here some time in consequence of it, but fortunately he is not so much hurt as to prevent him from riding at a slow pace.

No appearance of the enemy to-day, and think they are preparing for a warm attack. The weather very hot and dry, without any appearance of rain.

Camp thirty-one miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 4th August, 1794.—The aforesaid garrison being completed, lieutenant Underhill, with one hundred men, left to protect it; departed at six o'clock and arrived here at three o'clock, being ten miles. The land we marched through is rich and well timbered, but the water scarce and bad; obliged to dig holes in boggy places and let it settle.

Camp forty-four miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 5th August, 1794.—We arrived at this place at four o'clock, nothing particular occurring. The land and water as above described—had some rain to-day.

Camp fifty-six miles from Fort Recovery, 6th August, 1794.—Encamped on this ground at two o'clock. In the course of our march perceived the track of twenty Indians. I am informed we are within six miles of one of their towns on the Oglaize river, supposed to be the upper Delaware town. If so I expect to eat green corn to-morrow.

Our march this day has been through an exceeding fine country, but the water still bad—the day cooler than heretofore.

Camp sixty-eight miles from Fort Recovery, 7th August, 1794.—This day passed the upper town on the Oglaize, which the Indians evacuated some time ago. I expect to see one of their new towns, where I am told there are all sorts of vegetables, which will be very acceptable to the troops. We have had no appearance of Indians to-day.

Camp Grand Oglaize, 8th August, 1794.—Proceeded on our march to this place at five o'clock this morning, and arrived here at the confluence of the Miami and Oglaize rivers at half past ten, being seventy-seven miles from Fort Recovery. This place far excels in beauty any in the western country, and believed equalled by none in the

Atlantic States. Here are vegetables of every kind in abundance, and we have marched four or five miles in cornfields down the Oglaize, and there is not less than one thousand acres of corn round the town. The land in general of the fir nature.

This country appears well adapted for the enjoyment of industrious people, who cannot avoid living in as great luxury as in any other place throughout the states, nature having lent a most bountiful hand in the arrangement of the position, that a man can send the produce to market in his own boat. The land level and river navigable, not more than sixty miles from the lake.

The British have built a large garrison about fifty miles from this place, and our spies inform us that the enemy are encamped about two miles above it on the river.

Grand Oglaize, 9th August, 1794.—We remain here.—The commander-in-chief has ordered a garrison to be erected at the confluence of the Miami and Oglaize rivers, which was begun this morning, and will take up some time; by this means the troops will be much refreshed, as well as the horses and cattle, the latter being much wearied and in need of a recess of labor. No appearance of an enemy.

Grand Oglaize, 10th August, 1794.—The troops in good spirits. No interruption from, or account of, the enemy. We have plenty of vegetables. One of our militia officers wounded by his own sentinel by mistake.

Grand Oglaize, 11th August, 1794.—Nothing occurs to prevent the completion of our work.

[Here were a few leaves lost out of the manuscript, to my great regret.—*Editor American Pioneer.*]

Took up their line of march, and at one arrived on this ground without any occurrence. Our camp is situated in sight of Snaketown, on the Miami of the Lake. Vegetables in abundance.

Camp nineteen miles from Oglaize, 16th August, 1794.—Our march this day was through a bushy ground, and the road generally bad. Miller (the flag) returned this day from the enemy with information from the tribes, that if the commander-in-chief would remain at Grand Oglaize ten days they would let him know whether they would be for peace or war.

Camp thirty-one miles from Camp Oglaize, 17th August, 1794.—This day a small party of the enemy's spies fell in with ours; both parties being for discoveries, they retreated, at which time the enemy fired and wounded one of our horses. Our camp, head of the Rapids.

Camp forty-one miles from Grand Oglaize, 18th August, 1794.—The legion arrived on this ground, nothing particular taking place. Five of our spies were sent out at three o'clock—they fell in with an advanced body of the enemy, and obliged to retreat; but May, one of our spies, fell under the enemy's hold. What his fate may be must be left to future success.

Camp Deposit, 19th August, 1794.—The legion still continued in encampment, and are throwing up works to secure and deposit the heavy baggage of the troops, so that the men may be light for action, provided the enemy have presumption to favor us with an interview, which if they should think proper to do, the troops are in such high spirits that we will make an easy victory of them.

By this morning's order, the legion is to march at five o'clock.

Camp in sight of a British garrison, on the Miamis of the Lake, August 20, 1794—*one hundred and fifty miles from Greenville.*—This day the legion, after depositing every kind of baggage, took up the line of march at 7 o'clock, and continued their route down the margin of the river, without making any discovery, until eleven o'clock, when the front guard, which was composed of mounted volunteers, were fired on by the enemy. The guard retreated in the utmost confusion through the front guard of the regulars, commanded by captain Cook and lieutenant Steele, who, in spite of their utmost exertion, made a retreat. These fell in with the left of captain Howell Lewis' company of light infantry and threw that part of the men into confusion, which captain Lewis observing, he ordered the left of his company to retreat about forty yards, where he formed them and joined the right, which had stood their ground. They continued in this position until they were joined by part of captain Springer's battalion of riflemen, which was nearly fifteen minutes after the firing commenced, who drove the enemy that had attempted to flank us on the right. Nearly at the same time, the right column came up, and the charge was sounded—the enemy gave way and fired scattering shots as they run off.

About the time the right column came up, a heavy firing took place on the left, which lasted but a short time, the enemy giving way in all quarters, which left us in possession of their *dead* to the number of forty. Our loss was thirty killed and one hundred wounded. Among the former we have to lament the loss of captain Miss Campbell of the dragoons, and lieutenant Henry B. Fowles of the 4th sub-legion; and of the latter, captains Prior of the first, Slough of the fourth, and Van Rensselaer of the dragoons, also lieutenant Campbell Smith of the fourth sub-legion. The whole loss of the enemy cannot

at present be ascertained, but it is more than probable it must have been considerable, for we pursued them with rapidity for nearly two miles. As to the number of the enemy engaged in this action, opinions are so various, that I am at a loss to know what to say; the most general opinion is one thousand five hundred, one third of which are supposed to be Canadians; I am led to believe this number is not over the mark. After the troops had taken some refreshment, the legion continued their route down the river, and encamped in sight of the British garrison. One Canadian fell into our hands, who we loaded with irons.

Camp Foot of the Rapids, 21st August, 1794.—We are now lying within half a mile of a British garrison. A flag came to the commander-in-chief, the purport of which was that he, the commanding officer of the British fort, was surprised to see an American army so far advanced in this country; and why they had the assurance to encamp under the mouths of his Majesty's cannons! The commander-in-chief answered, that the affair of yesterday might well inform him why this army was encamped in its present position, and had the flying savages taken shelter under the walls of the fort, his Majesty's cannons should not have protected them.

Camp Foot of the Rapids, 22d August, 1794.—We have destroyed all the property within one hundred yards of the garrison. The volunteers were sent down eight miles below the fort, and have destroyed and burnt all the possessions belonging to the Canadians and savages. The commander-in-chief led his light infantry within pistol shot of the garrison to find out the strength and situation of the place, and in hopes of bringing a shot from our inveterate but silent enemies. They were too cowardly to come up to our expectations, and all we got by insulting the colors of Britain, was a flag, the amount of which was, that the commanding officer of the fort felt himself as a soldier much injured, by seeing his Majesty's colors insulted, and if such conduct was continued, he would be under the necessity of making a proper resentment; upon which the commander-in-chief demanded the post, it being the right of the United States, which was refused. A small party of dragoons were sent over the river to burn and destroy all the houses, corn, &c. that were under cover of the fort, which was effected.

Camp Deposit, 23d August, 1794.—Having burned and destroyed every thing contiguous to the fort without any opposition, the legion took up the line of march, and in the evening encamped on this ground, being the same they marched from the 20th. It may be proper to remark that we have heard nothing from the savages, or their allies

the Canadians, since the action. The honors of war have been paid to the remains of those brave fellows who fell on the 20th, by a discharge of three rounds from sixteen pieces of ordnance, charged with shells. The ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity.

Camp Thirty-two Mile Tree, 24th August, 1794.—The wounded being well provided for with carriages, &c., the legion took up the line of march, and halted in their old camp about two o'clock in the evening without any accident. In this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses we met with, which were very considerable.

Camp Fifteen Mile Tree, 25th August, 1794.—The legion continued their march, and encamped on this ground at three o'clock P. M. This morning a few of the volunteers remained in the rear of the army; and soon after the legion took up their line of march they saw eight Indians coming into our camp; they fell in with them, killed one and wounded two.

Camp Nine Mile Tree, 26th August, 1794.—The legion continued their march, and after burning and destroying all the houses and corn on their route, arrived on this ground at two o'clock, being one of our encamping places when on our advance.

All the wounded that were carried on litters and horseback were sent forward to Fort Defiance. Doctor Carmichael through neglect had the wounded men of the artillery and cavalry thrown into wagons, among spades, axes, picks, &c., in consequence of which the wounded are now lying in extreme pain, besides the frequent shocks of a wagon on the worst of roads. The wounded of the third sub-legion are under obligations to doctor Haywood for his attention and humanity to them in their distress.

Camp Fort Defiance, 27th August, 1794.—The legion continued their route, and at three o'clock were encamped on the Miami, one mile above the garrison. On this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses on our route, the wounded are happily fixed in the garrison, and the doctors say there is no great danger of any of them dying.

Fort Defiance, 28th August, 1794.—The commander-in-chief thinks proper to continue on this ground for some time, to refresh the troops and send for supplies. There is corn, beans, pumpkins, &c., within four miles of this place, to furnish the troops three weeks.

General orders.—The quarter master general will issue one gill of whisky to every man belonging to the federal army, (this morning,) as a small compensation for the fatigues they have undergone for several days past. Major general Scott will direct his quarter masters to

attend accordingly with their respective returns. The commander-in-chief wishes it to be fairly understood, that when he mentioned, or may mention the federal army in general orders, that term comprehends and includes the legion and mounted volunteers as one compound army, and that the term legion comprehends the regular troops, agreeable to the organization by the president of the United States, and by which appellation they are known and recognized on all occasions, when acting by themselves, and separate from the mounted volunteers. As the army will probably remain on this ground for some time, vaults must be dug, and every precaution taken to keep the encampment clean and healthy.

The legion will be reviewed the day after to-morrow at ten o'clock. In the interim the arms must be clean and varnished, and the clothing of the soldier repaired and washed, to appear in the most military condition possible; but in these necessary preparations for a review, great caution must be used by the commanding officers of wings, not to permit too many men at one time to take their locks off, or to be engaged in washing.

All the horses belonging to the quarter master and contractors' department, in possession of the legion, must be returned this afternoon.

This is the first fair day that we have had since we began to return to this place, it having rained nearly constant for five days, which was the occasion of fatiguing the troops very much.

Fort Defiance, 29th August, 1794.—We are as yet encamped on this ground; all the pack-horses belonging to the quarter master and contractors' department, moved this morning for Fort Recovery, escorted by brigadier-general Todd's brigade of mounted volunteers, for the purpose of bringing supplies to this place. It is said the legion will continue in their present camp until the return of this escort. Our spies were yesterday twelve miles up this river, and they bring information that the cornfields continue as far as they were up the river.

Fort Defiance, 30th August, 1794.—This day at ten o'clock, the commander-in-chief began to review the troops at the posts occupied by the different corps, and I am led to believe that he was well pleased at their appearance. Major Hughes, captain Slough, captain Van Rensselaer, and lieutenant Younghusband, obtained a furlough to go home to repair their healths, being, as they pretended, very much injured by the service.

I believe the two first and the last mentioned, if they never return will not be lamented by the majority of the army.

The out-guards were much alarmed this morning at the mounted volunteers firing off all their arms without our having any notice.

Head Quarters, 31*st August*, 1794. *General orders.*—A general court-martial to consist of five members, will set to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them. Major Shaylor, president, lieutenant Wade, judge advocate.

The disorderly and dangerous practice of permitting the soldiery to pass the chain of sentinels, on pretext of going after vegetables, can no longer be suffered. In future, on issuing day, only one man from each mess, properly armed, and commanded by the respective sub-legionary quarter masters, will be sent as a detachment for vegetables, to march at seven o'clock in the morning.

The pack-horses shall forage daily under protection of a squadron of dragoons; every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise. Any non-commissioned officer or soldier found half a mile without the chain of sentinels, without a pass signed by the commanding officer of wings or sub-legion, or from head quarters, shall be deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly. Every sentinel suffering a non-commissioned officer or private to pass without such written permit, except a party on command, shall receive fifty lashes for each and every violation of this order.

A fatigue party of three hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, with a proportion of commissioned officers, will parade at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, furnished with one hundred axes, one hundred picks, and one hundred spades and shovels, with arms, commanded by major Burbeck.

A part of this order was in consequence of three men of the first sub-legion being either killed or taken by the enemy, when out a foraging, which was done some time since, in a very disorderly manner, at the same time liable to the attacks of the enemy, without having it in their power to make the smallest resistance.

To be continued.

EARLY INCIDENTS OF BUFFALO—BUFFALO HARBOR.

NUMBER VII.

About twenty-five laborers were immediately collected, the pile-driver prepared for use, and a line of piles driven, two hundred feet from the pier, on the north side of that part of the channel which was obstructed. Two harbor-scows were made fast to these piles, and a platform of timber and plank extended over them. Four capstans were set up in these scows about twenty feet apart, and each rising a sufficient distance above the platform to receive four bars,

eight feet long. While this was in preparation, scrapers were formed of a single oak plank, eight feet long and twenty inches wide, the lower edge bevelled and faced with a thin bar of iron. They were finished like the common scrapers used by farmers in improving and smoothing the roads, with the addition of iron braces, and a rod of iron through the scraper near the lower edge, which passed through the pole or scantling by which it was drawn. On the upper end of the brace was a screw to regulate the scraper, which was loaded with iron to sink it, and connected by a strong rope with the windlass. A rope attached to the back part of the scraper, and extending to the pier, completed the simple machinery with which it was proposed to remove the gravel. Two men stationed on the pier could, by the small ropes, pull back the four scrapers as fast as they could be drawn home by the men at the four windlasses, each of which was worked by four men at the levers, and one to handle the rope. The men could work dry, but the labor was excessively exhausting. The experiment succeeded admirably, and other capstans were prepared for use. The weather the first three days proved favorable, and the heavy unbroken body of ice which covered the lake, prevented all interruptions from the waves. The progress made in removing the sand was most encouraging, and there appeared no doubt that by increasing the scrapers the channel could be opened before the first of May. But to effect this the work must be continued every working day without regard to the weather. Piles were put down, and a raft of timber substituted for scows on which to erect more capstans. Saturday night came, and the workmen were dismissed until Monday morning. During the night a heavy gale set in, and increased in violence until about noon on the Sabbath when the ice began to break up, and the lake to rise. Soon the ice was in motion, and driving in from the lake, was carried up the creek with such force as to destroy the scows and all the fixtures. The pile-driver, being securely fastened by strong rigging to the piles, it was hoped would remain safe, but the fasts gave way, and it was driving towards shore where it could scarcely escape destruction. As the breaking up of the ice would make it impossible to work the capstan on rafts, put in motion by the swell to which they would be exposed, scaffolds raised out of the way of the water must be substituted, and these could not possibly be built without piles. It was therefore all important to save the pile-driver. It was saved by the extraordinary exertions of two individuals who (making their way to it by the aid of two boards each, which they pushed forward alternately over the floating ice agitated by the swells,) succeeded in fastening it with a hawser to a pile near

which it was floating. This was not done without imminent hazard to the men, who, several times losing their position on the board, came near being crushed by the moving mass of ice.

The scow being secured, the anxious and disheartened citizens and workmen retired to their homes.

Any community less inured to disappointments and adversity would now have given up in despair. The very elements seemed to have conspired against them. The gale was frightful, and in the afternoon was accompanied by a heavy fall of snow: the water was high, and ice driving with violence on to the flats.

Monday morning the wind had subsided, but the weather was cold and still stormy. A general meeting of the citizens was convened, to whom the superintendent stated the extent of the damage, the probable time it would take to repair it, the amount of funds requisite to complete the work, and his entire confidence in ultimate success. He, however, refused to resume the work until sufficient funds were provided. As the liability to pay a hundred and fifty dollars a day would soon attach, the importance of a united and speedy effort was more sensibly felt. The meeting was fully attended, not only by those who were liable on the bond, but by many young mechanics and others. Dr. Johnson, John G. Camp and Dr. Chapin, were chosen a committee to obtain and collect subscriptions.

The following is a list of the names and sums subscribed:

Ebenezer Johnson, in goods at cash price,	$110	00	
Sylvester Mathews, in bread,	25	00	
James Reed,	12	50	
Elisha Williams, in labor or goods, by H. B. Potter,	50	00	
Wm. Mason, in beef,	5	00	
Joseph Stocking,	25	00	
S. G. Austin,	12	50	
G. & T. Weed, (including subscription a few days since) donation,	20	00	
O. Newberry,	20	00	
Ezekiel Folsom, in meat from the market,	12	50	
Samuel Wilkeson,	100	00	
Townsend & Coit,	100	00	
H. B. Potter, cash $50, brick $25,	75	00	
E. F. Norton,	50	00	
Moses Baker, in labor or blacksmith work,	50	00	
Thomas C. Love,	25	00	
John G. Camp, in cash or labor,	50	00	
William Ketchum, $20 cash, $30 in hats,	50	00	
John A. Lazell,	25	00	
Lucius Gold, in labor,	50	00	
Samuel A. Bigelow, in goods or labor,	25	00	
Wm. Folsom, in labor,	25	00	
John Root,	25	00	
Jabez Goodell, in labor, provisions, &c.	25	00	
H. M. Campbell, in hats or labor,	25	00	
Hart & Cunningham, in goods,	50	00	
Sheldon Chapin, in goods,	50	00	
J. D. Hoyt, in boots and shoes,	50	00	
A. James, in goods,			
P. G. Jenks,	5	00	
R. B. Heacock & Co. horse $15, goods $35,	50	00	
Thomas Quigly, in labor,	12	50	
Timothy Page,	5	00	
Thomas More,	2	00	
Martin Daley, in labor,	6	25	
A. Bryant, in goods and clothing,	50	00	
H. R. Seymour,	50	00	
Nathaniel Vosburgh, saddlery,	12	50	
F. B. Merrill, in labor,	25	00	
John E. Marshall,	25	00	
D. M. Day,	12	50	
Z. Platt,	6	25	
E. Walden, in goods,	100	00	
J. Guiteau, in labor or cash,	12	50	
Cyrenius Chapin,	100	00	
James Demarest, in saddlery,	5	00	
D. Henion, 100 lbs. pork, when called for.			
W. T. Miller, in fresh meat at market in Buffalo village,	50	00	

Selden Davis,	5 00	Zachariah Griffin, 10 barrels of lime to be delivered in Buffalo,	6 25
William Hodge, in labor or materials,	25 00	Alvin Dodge, in team work and manual labor,	10 00
Velorus Hodge, in work or materials,	5 00	H. A. Salisbury, in produce and hats,	12 50
Benjamin Hodge, in lumber,	5 00	Hiram Pratt, in goods,	25 00
William Long, a certain brown cow, with a white head, to be appraised by commissioners of Harbor Association.		Erastus Gilbert, in shoes and boots,	25 00
		" " bbl. pork,	10 00
Roswell Rosford, in produce or provisions,	5 00	" " cash,	2 50
W. W. Gnapin, in team work,	10 00	Oliver Coit, one crow-bar, $3, cash $5,	8 00
		Joseph Dart, Jr. in hats,	10 00
		Benjamin Caryl, in pork,	25 00

These subscriptions amounted to $1,361 25, exclusive of the cow and pork, the whole of which was paid except $110. The provisions and goods were paid to the workmen without loss, but on much of the other property, (which was sold at auction) there was an average loss of about thirty-seven and a half per cent.

The means being secured to prosecute the work, the laborers were called together, and the afternoon of Monday was spent in collecting from the wreck, scrapers, capstans, rigging, &c. and preparing to resume the work. The weather was as uncomfortable as it well could be. Indeed, from the commencement of the gale until the middle of April, there were but two days without snow or rain.

Note—The writer discovers that injustice has inadvertently been done to Mr. George Coit, in not connecting his name with that of judge Townsend, in the responsibilities assumed, and moneys advanced for the construction of the harbor.

NUMBER VIII.

Tuesday morning two rows of piles were put down, on which to erect platforms in place of scows and rafts, which had been destroyed. These platforms were raised several feet above the water to protect the workmen from the spray of the swells which broke against the piles. Six scrapers were got in motion during the day, and notwithstanding the laborers were exposed to a heavy rain, rapid progress was made in removing the sand. Although the heavy swells, which continued to roll in from the lake, rendered it difficult to keep the empty scrapers in line, yet they carried the sand, removed from the channel, towards the shore, and prevented its accumulation.

The necessity of improving all the time was such, that the laborers were required to breakfast in season to appear on the beach by sunrise ready to be carried out to the platforms. Cooked provisions were taken with them for dinner, which each man ate when he pleased, standing in the storm. They continued their work without returning to the shore until dark. The labor was so hard, and the exposure so great, that it was difficult to obtain the necessary help; indeed, it would have been impossible but for the labor furnished by the citi-

zens—many of whom sent their hired men for a day or more until their places could be supplied.

The excavation commenced near the outer end of the pier, and progressed towards the shore, deepening the channel to eight feet. By the 15th of April much more than half of the work was accomplished, and every doubt as to the practicability of completing it removed.

The steamboat was rapidly advancing to completion. The builder (who from the first had despaired of seeing the channel opened by the means resorted to) on examining the work and measuring the water in the yet obstructed part of the channel, pronounced the whole scraping process useless, and proposed that the channel of the creek should be confined by planks, extending from the shore into deep water, believing that the water thus confined would produce a current which would soon do what the scrapers could never do—open a good channel. These opinions and plans communicated to the citizens, created a feverish excitement, which the superintendent had no opportunity to allay, as he was confined to the work.

The committee which had been charged with the duty of raising the fund for carrying on the work, deemed themselves entitled to direct its expenditure. A majority of them (influenced by the boat-builder) insisted on the immediate construction of the board fence, (for such in fact it was) which he had suggested. Piles supplying the place of posts, and planks sharpened at one end and driven into the sand, the upper end spiked to a rail, was to form the whole of this proposed structure. And such was the confidence in its success, that it was with difficulty the committee could be prevailed on to let the scraping be continued. The board work was put down in two days, and proved, as was anticipated by the superintendent, to be totally useless. A heavier swell than usual setting in, broke it up and removed it out of the way. The scraping then was relied on as the only hope of opening a passage for the boat, which would be ready in a few days to leave the creek.

Although the weather became good the latter part of April, and the work was prosecuted with the utmost diligence, yet the first of May came while there was still a few rods of the channel in which only about six and a half feet of water had been gained. As considerable work yet remained to be done on the boat, and no loss or inconvenience could accrue to the owners in allowing a few days to deepen the channel, yet no time could be obtained. The boat was put in motion, and fortunately the pilot, captain Miller, having made himself acquainted with what channel there was, ran her out into the

lake without difficulty. THE BOND WAS CANCELLED. The boat was, however, light; and when fully loaded would require much more water. The scraping was therefore continued.

When the boat was finished, the citizens were invited to take an excursion on the lake. It was feared that if the boat should be deeply loaded with passengers, she would ground in the new made channel. Although this would be a trifling occurrence in itself, yet circumstances had recently occurred which led them to regard the experiment with the deepest anxiety. An act had passed a few days before, authorizing the canal board to contract for the construction of a harbor at Black Rock, which, if completed, might secure the termination of the canal at that place, and supercede Buffalo harbor. The subject was to be acted by the canal board in a few days, and even so trifling an incident as the grounding of a steamboat might influence their decision, and deprive Buffalo of the fruits of all her toils and exertions in building a harbor.

An effort was therefore made to either postpone the steamboat excursion, or limit the number of passengers, but in vain. Neither the captain, nor a majority of the citizens, could appreciate the solicitude of the few. The whole village crowded on board, and the boat grounded. This was the more mortifying, as many of our Black Rock friends were on board, who had always predicted our failure. But after a few minutes delay in landing some of the people on the pier, the boat moved forward, went along side of the pier, took on the passengers, and proceeded up the lake, with bugles sounding and banners flying.

Mount Carmel, Illinois, May 6, 1842.

JNO. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

Dear Sir—Your extra was placed in my hands on yesterday. I have just returned from the East, having visited the Atlantic cities generally for the first time, after forty-five years pioneering in the wilderness of the West. I have been three times a citizen of Kentucky, twice of Ohio, and twice of Illinois. I was neighbor to Daniel Boon, the first whiteman that fortified against the Indians in Kentucky. In October, 1797, I saw him on pack horses take up his journey for Missouri, then upper Louisiana. Subsequently I became neighbor to Simon Kenton, who was the second or third man who fortified against the Indians at Washington, Kentucky. Perhaps Harrod's station was fortified before his.

In February last I fell in company with Wm. Smith, who told me of all the survivors of the first settlers of Ohio, at Marietta in 1788, as follows: Wm. Smith himself, of Gallia county, Ohio; Hezekiah Flint, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Porter, of Duck creek, Washington county, Ohio; Allen Duval, of some county; Jarvis Cutler, of Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Cutler was at one time a partner of Nathaniel Massie, whose character as a pioneer stands high in Ohio. In 1788, Mr. Smith knew every man, woman, and child, in Ohio.

In December, 1834, in traveling through Indiana, I fell in with Jacob Davis, of Bartholomew county, who informed me that at ten years of age he was with his father on a trading expedition among the Indians; was there prior to 1774, when lord Dunmore made his treaty at Camp Charlotte, on Sippo, on old Winn Winship's farm. He told me that the Indian chief Logan, had attempted to associate the Missouri and Mississippi Indians against the whites. Mr. Davis says he was present at the council when the messengers returned from the west, and gave an account of their proceedings. Like Tecumseh, they failed to arrive in time; the Indians were defeated on the 10th of October, 1774, at Point Pleasant, by the left wing of Dunmore's army. This brought on the treaty of Camp Charlotte. Logan was lying down in a trader's tent, in a sullen mood, with his elbow on the ground and cheek on his hand, looking on the ground, and would not attend the treaty. He got a trader to write a note to lord Dunmore, which forms the celebrated speech. General Simon Kenton built his last cabin for him; and captain James M'Pherson, of Logan county, was adopted as chief in his place.

According to Ben Kelly, Tecumseh's adopted brother, who was five years in Blackfish's family, Tecumseh was born near Xenia, on Mr. Saxon's lot, near a spring. I was in a treaty with him at Chillicothe, in 1807, while Thos. Kirker, the acting governor, presided, and took down Tecumseh's speech for my nephew, captain R. D. Richardson, then editor of the Fredonian; also, I took down the speech of Blue Jacket. Tecumseh was then raising a breeze. My paper would fail to tell all, and for the present I must cease. At another time I shall take pleasure in communicating more for your work. Having seized upon facts, I hope your work will receive a support equal to its merits.

Yours, very respectfully,



SECOND TRIP TO THE WEST—LOGAN.

BY FELIX RENICK, ESQ.

CONTENTS.

Introduction—Object and commencement of the trip—Difficulties on the Hockhocking, and directions from an old pioneer—Difficulties at the falls of Scotch creek—Arrival at Sippo creek—Camp Charlotte and Westfall—Dunmore's treaty—Conduct of Logan—Witnesses—Indian frolic—Logan kept aloof from it.

JNO. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—Agreeably to promise, I now proceed to give you a sketch of a second trip to the West. I cannot give all the incidents, without needlessly filling the pages of the Pioneer. But I will give the leading features of this trip, the main or most particular incident of which was my being thrown upon Camp Charlotte, or Old Camp Ground, as it is usually called.

Early in 1801, I set out from the south branch of the Potomac, in company with Jonathan Renick and two hired hands, with the intention of raising a crop on Darby creek. The land belonged to Jonathan and my brother Thomas Renick. We came out also with a view of purchasing land at the congress sales, which were to take place in the ensuing May at Chillicothe.

We had each a packhorse besides those we rode, loaded with farming utensils, ploughs, axes, hoes, &c., not forgetting a little provender for ourselves, on which our hired hands occasionally rode, in bad roads and in crossing water. We crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Little Kanawha, and took a trace leading to the Hockhocking, a few miles below the falls of that river, intending to go up to Zane's trace, where the town of Lancaster now stands, thence with that trace to the Scioto valley. Where we struck the Hocking, an old pioneer had squatted the year before, and raised a small crop for the support of himself and family, in the way of bread stuff, depending on his rifle and dog for the balance. He informed us that the river was entirely too high to be forded, and that we could not pursue our intended route up it, without crossing it several times, or encountering several rough hills on either side. We were therefore under the necessity of waiting until the river ran down, or getting over it the best way we could, and striking our course through the woods for the Scioto. We preferred the latter. We partook of the old man's hospitality that night, and with his assistance swam our horses across the river, and got our baggage over in a small canoe or dug-out, and prepared to pursue our journey. He told us to go up the Hocking a short distance, and to leave it where Dunmore's trace left it, which he said was much the best way to get over the high rough hills,

between the Hocking and the Scioto. He also told us that we would have to cross Scotch creek before we turned off from the Hocking, and that in the present stage of the creek, there was but one place we could cross it without swimming, which was on the falls, where the creek poured over a smooth rock, and fell some twenty or more feet perpendicularly into a large deep basin below, which covered more than an acre of ground. He said it would look frightful, but that there would be no danger, as it would be little, if any, more than belly deep to our horses.

We took leave of our pioneer friend, and following his directions, found the crossing of Scotch creek, as he described it, a really frightful looking place. The muddy water, pouring over the rock into the basin, agitated the whole of the water, and lashed it into a foam, which gave it the appearance of a huge kettle of dirty water ready to boil over. Its appearance had the effect to frighten one of our hands so much, that he declared he never would venture into such a horrible looking place. He said we would most assuredly be swept off into the pool below, and that would be the last of us. He was a large, six foot two, athletic looking fellow, who had been frequently boasting on the way, of his power at fisticuff, and what he would do with the Indians, should it be his good fortune to come into contact with any of them. We used all the means in our power to prevail on him to enter the creek with us, but to no effect. We finally got out of all patience with him, and as he was mounted on my pack-horse, I bid him in very rough language to dismount and give me the bridle, and stay or go where he pleased, for we had no use for such a miserable coward as he was. He did as I bid him, and the rest of us put into the creek and crossed in safety. After we got over he made some signs for one of us to return and bring him over, to which we paid no attention. This might be thought by some to partake too much of inhumanity; but the pioneers of that day will bear me out in saying that the fate of a notorious coward was less regarded than that of a faithful dog.

We pursued our route up the Hocking, and diverging from it agreeably to the directions of the pioneer, we got off the rough ground, which divides the Hocking from the Scioto valley, as well as we expected, and camped that night on the branches of Sippo creek, a branch of the Scioto. About the time we were striking up our camp, our brave fisticuff, Indian killing man, came up with us. Some snow having fallen that day, enabled him to follow us; but how he got over Scotch creek he never would tell. Should any ask what became of him, I will say that in the summer following, there was a report in

circulation, that the Indians were about to combine and come down the Scioto in a body, in order to rob the receiver's office, in Chillicothe. The captain in that district gave his men notice to be ready at a moment's warning to defend the country. Our big man told the captain he would give him bail that he would be ready; and he was as good as his word, but it was leg-bail, and the next we heard of him, he had topped the Alleghanies, and was descending the eastern slope. Where or when he stopped I never knew.

Next day we pursued Dunmore's trace down the creek, and in a few hours came upon Camp Charlotte. The encampment was then very visible. The appearance was, that much labor had been spent in its erection. Many of the tent poles were still standing. I believe Dr. Winship now owns the land where the camp was. After leaving the camp, we steered for the Scioto river, where the town of Westfall now is, and then supposed to be about six or eight miles from Camp Charlotte.

From the best information I have been able to obtain, Camp Charlotte cannot claim to be the place where Logan delivered his celebrated speech. Logan did not come into camp at the request of Dunmore, as most of the other chiefs did, to participate in concluding a treaty. Dunmore (as was then suspected, and afterwards well understood,) was very anxious to conciliate and obtain the good will of the Indians toward the British government, fearing a rupture between that government and the colonies. He sent a messenger with some associates to invite Logan into camp. Some accounts say, that a Mr. Clark was the principal messenger, others say that it was colonel Gibson, which seems well established in the appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. These messengers, agreeably to orders, sought and found Logan in his camp, on the west bank of the Scioto river; which accounts, most to be relied on, state to have been where the above named town of Westfall now stands.

Logan indignantly refused going into camp, or having any thing to do with the treaty, saying that Logan was no counselor—Logan was a warrior; but after having some conversation with the messenger, he delivered the celebrated speech to him, and requested it to be taken to Dunmore.

My first information on this subject, which is corroborated by what I have since learned in this country, I obtained from an uncle and two of our nearest neighbors on the south branch, the elder captain Daniel M'Neil, and captain James Parsons, who all served in Dunmore's campaign, and also from William Renick, Sen'r., of Greenbriar, Virginia, who was taken prisoner, when a youth, some years previous to Dunmore's war, and resided at that time among

the Indians at the Pickaway plains, in Logan's very neighborhood. One of these towns was on each side of the Sippo creek, immediately east of the road from Chillicothe to Circleville. He was then reclaimed, with other prisoners, and returned to Virginia. Captain Parsons informed me that he was at the town where Logan then resided, and where he delivered his speech. He called it Chi-le-coth-e, (sounding each syllable as it would detached from the rest,) and several times related the manner and circumstances of his getting there.

Captain Parsons said that in consequence of Logan's, and perhaps one or two other chiefs' refusing any participation in the treaty, Dunmore was fearful they might have some evil designs, and ordered a small posse of men over, to watch their movements, while the treaty was in progress. When the treaty was brought to a close, a runner was dispatched with the news to the men and Indians at Chillicothe, and was conveyed with so much speed, that it reached Chillicothe before it was promulgated in camp, and the moment it was received, the white men and Indians commenced dancing and shooting as fast as they could load and fire. The reports reached camp, and captain Parsons and some of his men supposed a fight had commenced between the Indians and men over the river. They flew to their guns, and without further orders, took to their heels, with all speed, to relieve, as they supposed, their fellow soldiers.

This specimen of insubordination may be accounted for by recurring to the fact, that colonel Lewis encamped on Congo creek, near to Westfall, and was for an Indian fight, whether or not. They were sore from the battle at Kanawha, and it is said it was not till Dunmore had drawn his sword on him, that he would give up the fight and join the division at Camp Charlotte. The state of things will perhaps be better understood, if it is considered that this was the same year the tea was thrown overboard at Boston.

When they got to the river, the firing still continuing, they waded over and crept up the bank very cautiously, determined to make sure work with the first fire at least; but to their surprise, they saw Indians and white men all mingled together in a real frolic. After joining in and taking a few bouts with them, the captain and his men returned to camp. If my memory is not very much at fault, he told me that Logan held himself aloof, as well from this frolic as from the treaty ground. You have now all the material facts, both as respects the locality of Camp Charlotte, and in respect to where Logan delivered his speech. Very respectfully yours,

Felix Renick

MR. SHARP'S LETTER.

Warren County, Missouri, June 15th, 1842.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams,

Dear Sir—In the year 1776, about the time American independence was declared, all that part of West Virginia now contained in the counties of Wythe, Smyth, Washington, Russell, Lee, and Scott, with the adjoining counties in North Carolina (now Tennessee) of Sullivan and Washington, were broken up and the inhabitants driven into strongholds. About the last of June or first of July, the traders fled from the Cherokee nation with the alarming news, that the Indians were coming in great force, and in a few days would break into the settlements. A few of the militia, perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred, hastily assembled under the command of captains James Thompson, James Shelby and William Cook, and proceeded to the frontier house, about fifteen miles in advance of the settlement, and begun to build a kind of stockade fort with fence rails; but before they could finish their fort their spies gave them notice that a large Indian force was within a few miles. It was then debated, which would be the most prudent, to await their coming in their crazy fort or march out boldly and meet them in the woods. The latter proposition prevailed, and before they had proceeded more than five miles, they discovered nine or ten Indians, who threw down their budgets and fled. This threw the men into disorder, curiosity drawing them around the Indian plunder in a crowd; but presently they heard a noise like distant thunder, and looking round they saw the whole Indian force running upon them at full speed—they made a hasty retreat to a rising ground, where they rallied; and the Indians came running up with savage yells, as if intending to rush among them with their tomahawks. A sharp engagement ensued, lasting from one-half to three-quarters of an hour, when the Indians disappeared, as if by magic, leaving the whitemen masters of the ground. Of the whites none were killed and only four slightly wounded. Eleven or twelve Indians lay dead upon the field and many trails of blood were found where the dead were carried off or the wounded had escaped. My oldest brother and a brother-in-law were in the action.

A curious incident occurred during the engagement. An Alexander Moore, a strong, athletic, active man, by some means got into close contact with an Indian of nearly his own size and strength; my brother-in-law, William King, seeing Moore's situation, ran up to his relief, but the Indian adroitly kept Moore in such a position that King

could not shoot him without shooting Moore. The Indian had a large knife suspended at his belt, for the possession of which they both struggled, but at length Moore succeeded and plunged it into the Indian's bowels; he then broke his hold and sprung off from Moore, and King shot him through the head.

The victorious party now returned to the fort, and instantly dispersed to take care of their own families and concerns. In the meantime the whole settlements were breaking up and the people fleeing from every quarter. We had collected some horses and loaded them with such necessaries as we could hastily pack up, and about the middle of the day my father, an old man, set off with them and the females of the family to seek a place of safety, he knew not where. I was despatched on foot to accelerate the escape of a brother's and sister's families, the one living four and the other six miles directly toward the point of danger. I was a little turned of fourteen years of age; the day was warm, but I was light and active and had no incumbrance but my gun and shot-pouch, and I traveled rapidly.

On my arrival I found the families had fled, and I turned to pursue my father. I had twelve miles to go to gain the great road, which I did as the day was nearly closing. In my whole route I had not seen a human face, but here the road was full of people moving hastily along; they were all strangers to me, but learning my situation one man generously proposed to carry me behind him till I could regain my friends or hear some intelligence of them. This offer I gladly embraced, and after some time we came to the farm of a captain Joseph Black, where Abington now stands, where we found four or five hundred souls of all descriptions collected together to build a fort, and here I found my connections.

The next day, when all hands were engaged in procuring materials and building fort Black, we received the news of the battle of Long Island, which gave us much encouragement, and business was suspended till a prayer of thanksgiving was offered up by the Rev. Charles Cummings, a Presbyterian minister. Not more than two or three days after this a captain James Montgomery, who lived about eight miles off, came to the fort; he had concluded, with two other families, to defend his own house, but not knowing what was going on he had rode out to try to find some people or get some intelligence. He was earnestly beset to bring the families instantly to the fort, and men and horses were sent to assist him. They soon returned with the families and some of their effects, and went back for more, but to their surprise they found the houses plundered and all in flames. They retreated hastily to the fort, and spies were appointed and sent out—but for several days they made no discovery, but at

length they came in one night after dark and reported that they had discovered a fire on the bank of the river above Mongomeies, which they supposed to be the Indian camp. An express was sent off to another fort, requesting their men to meet our men at a certain place at a certain hour that night. A party set off with the spies and was met by the men from the other fort according to appointment, and the spies conducted them to the spot. They cautiously surrounded them from the river below to the river above them, with strict injunctions to preserve a profound silence till the report of the captain's gun should give the signal for a general discharge, and in this position they waited for day. As soon as day had fairly dawned the Indians arose and began to move about the camp, when the crack of the captain's rifle was followed by a well directed fire from every quarter; the Indians fled across the river, exposed all the way to the fire of the whites; if any fell or sunk in the river it was not known, but if I recollect right eleven lay dead at and around the camp. The men crossed the river and found various trails of blood, one of which they traced up to where the fellow had crept into a hollow log; they drew him out by the feet and found him mortally wounded: he requested them by signs to shoot him in the head, which request they granted.

When the men returned all safe, with the Indian spoils and scalps, there was great rejoicing, and the scalps were suspended to a pole and fixed as a trophy over the fort gate. But we did not enjoy this triumph long, for shortly after a different scene took place. One morning three parties prepared to go out; one in which were my father, my two brothers, and two brothers-in-law, went early and was unmolested; they went to visit some plantations twelve miles off, and knew of nothing that had happened behind them, and did not return till late at night. Of the other two, one went to a field about a mile off, I think to secure some flax, and the other about the same distance to the house of the Rev. Charles Cummings, to bring his books, and some of his effects to the fort. Both these parties were attacked at the same time in full hearing of the fort; and here an undescribable scene of disorder took place, the women and children screaming, wives clinging to their husbands, mothers to their sons, and sisters to their brothers, to prevent them from going out, and crowding the fort gate, so that the men could hardly pass or repass. However a number of the men broke through, and ran to the rescue as fast as possible, but before they could arrive the Indians had done their work and were gone; one man was killed and one wounded in each party. A man by the name of Blackburn, was shot, tomahawked, and scalped, and yet was found alive, brought in, and recovered of his wounds. He was a long time an object of compassion.

The gallantry of two young men in this affray deserves to be recorded here. William Casey had a sister, a beautiful little girl, about sixteen years of age, along with the party at the field; and as he was running for his life, he discovered the Indians in close pursuit of his sister; and at that moment his eyes falling upon another young man, by the name of Robert Hasold, he called to him to come and help him to save Nancy; Hasold obeyed, and although there were four or five Indians in pursuit, (some said seven,) they rushed between them

and the girl, and by dexterously managing to fire alternately, still keeping one gun loaded when the other was discharged, they kept the Indians at bay till they gave up the pursuit, and they brought the girl in safe. Such acts of generous bravery ought at all times be held up as examples to our youth. Ever after, these two young men stood prominent in society.

During the summer several murders were committed; two men were killed almost in sight of the neighboring fort, who had gone out to bring up their horses. Of two men who went with an express from fort Black, one was killed and the other made his escape. It had been early determined to carry an expedition into the Indian country; and troops begun to assemble at the Long Island, the place of rendezvous, and build a fort, which was called fort Henry. A company was enrolled at fort Black, and taken under pay, to guard the fort and escort the provision and baggage wagons going to, and returning from the rendezvous. In this company I engaged, which was the first of my military service.

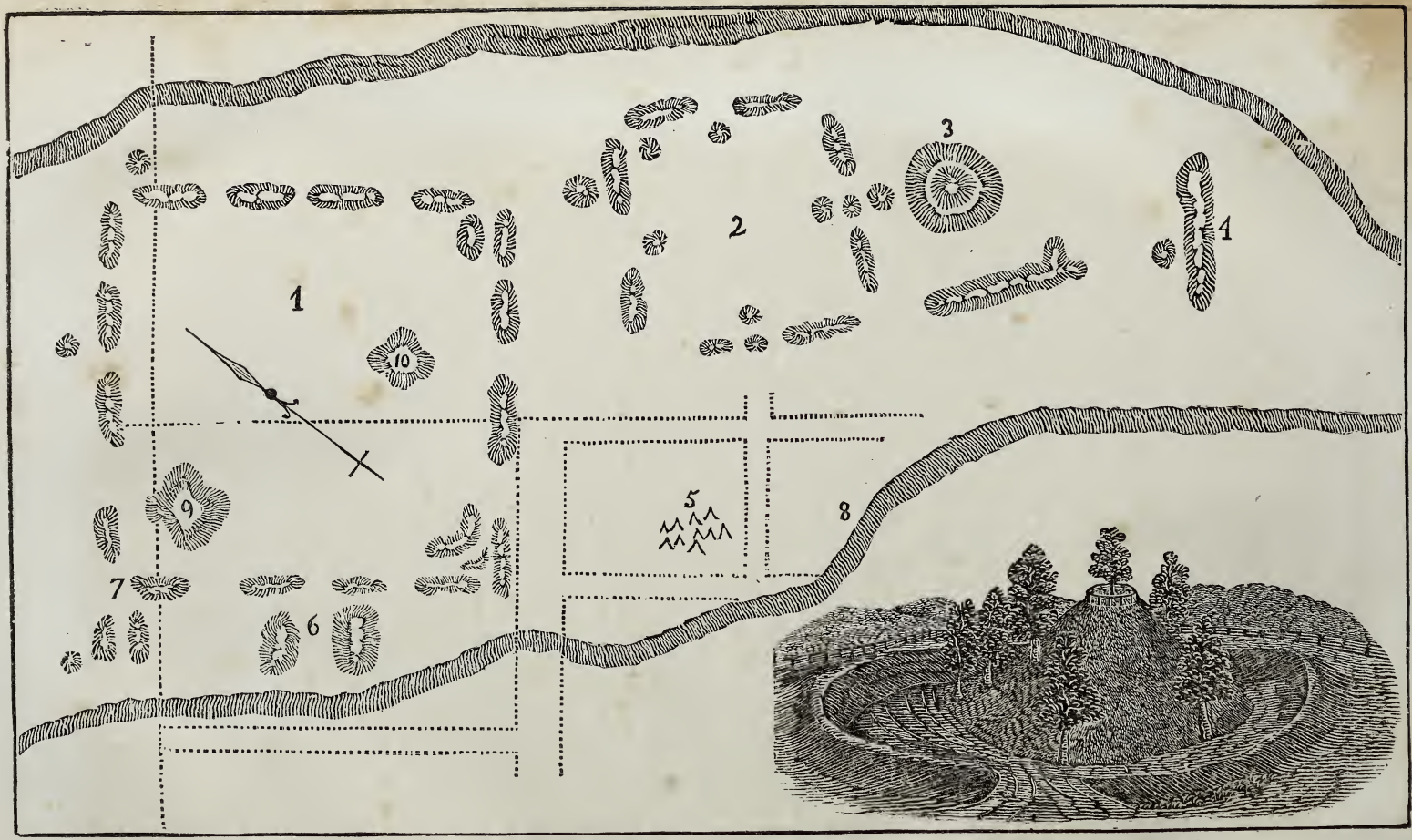
I think some time in November, the army, one thousand five hundred, or two thousand strong, under the command of colonel William Christian, of Virginia, moved on the Indian towns. I cannot recollect that this army killed any Indians, or took any prisoners; but they burned down all their villages, destroyed their corn, and every article of subsistence they could find, which reduced them to such a state of starvation, that before spring they sent in a flag for peace, which resulted in the treaty of the Long Island, in 1777.

I attended this treaty only one day, and that before the conferences begun, and can report nothing of my own knowledge; I will only mention an oratorical figure in a speech of the Raven, the principal Indian chief. A great many Indians with their squaws and children had collected, and were quartered in the island, surrounded by a guard to prevent improper intercourse with the whites; but notwithstanding this precaution, some abandoned fellow shot across the river and killed an Indian. This produced great confusion; the Indians thought they were betrayed, and prepared to fly, and it was with much exertion the officers and commissioners could convince and pacify them. Afterwards when the council met, the Raven opened the conference on the part of his people by a speech, in which he reverted to the case of the murdered Indian. He said, lest that unhappy affair should disturb the harmony and sincerity that ought to exist at that time between the white and red brethren, each party ought to view it as having happened so long ago, as if when the Indian was buried an acorn had been thrown into his grave, which had sprouted and grown, and become a lofty spreading oak, sufficiently large for them to sit under its shade, and hold their talk. This speech was much talked of at the time, and many thought it equal to any thing in the celebrated speech of Logan. Thus ended the first Cherokee war.

I am, with much esteem, &c.

Benj. Sharp

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.



ANCIENT WORKS AND MOUND AT MARIETTA, OHIO.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1842. NO. X.

FORTIFICATIONS AT MARIETTA.

In the frontispiece our readers are presented with a plat or ground view of the ancient fortification upon the site now occupied by the city of Marietta, Ohio. This survey or sketch is a copy of, perhaps, the first that was ever made of those works of antiquity, which are found throughout the West, to which even conjecture cannot point out the time when, by whom, or for what purpose, these time-worn structures were reared. They are overgrown by the largest timber, and the tradition of the Indians throw little light on the subject.

The sketch now presented has been compared with later ones, and found to be correct. It is valuable on account of its early date. We have added an outline of some of the streets of Marietta. It was presented for the American Pioneer by a venerable correspondent of Massachusetts, with the following explanation.

Northampton, Massachusetts, May, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir.—I have a copy of a drawing of the Indian antiquities taken five years previous to that of fort Harmar, by judge Gilman, (1785.) Should the sketch be acceptable, it can be introduced into any of the forthcoming numbers of the American Pioneer. The plat, of which this is a copy, was presented to the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D., president of Yale college, and at his request copied by me, then a member of the college, to be preserved in the archives of Yale college, as a memento of olden time, and the early history of the state of Ohio.

Trees of immense size grow on every part of these works, and tradition itself fails to point out the time when these works were constructed. Military gentlemen, who have seen these uncommon fortifications, say that no modern engineers could have chosen situations more proper for defense than these, where artillery is excepted.

References.—No. 1, Town. No. 2, The fort. No. 3, The great mound and ditch. No. 4, The advance work. No. 5, Indian graves. No. 6, Covered way from the town to the then locality of the river, which is supposed at that time to have ran along the edge of the second bottom. These walls are now twenty feet high, and

the graded road between them was one hundred feet wide, and beautifully rounded like a modern turnpike. No. 7, A second covered way with walls of less elevation. No. 8, Caves. No. 9 and 10, elevated squares. These works were interspersed with many small mounds as represented in the drawings. Scale of drawings sixty-six feet to the inch.

The town and fort is on a high and second bottom, a strip of low bottom occupying the front between the works and the Muskingum, which runs nearly parallel with the south-east wall of the town, and very nearly parallel with the edge of the second bottom, and say one hundred and fifty yards in advance of it. A branch of Tiber creek occupies the rear, and partially separates the works from the adjacent highlands.

The draft was copied by me for president Stiles, more than half a century ago, and has been seen by thousands who have evinced great curiosity. At this distance of time I cannot recollect who presented the original to president Stiles, but believe it was either general Pitnam or Mr. Lyman. Respectfully yours,

David Stebbins

ANCIENT MOUND AT MARIETTA.

[See Frontispiece.]

This beautiful mound is located near the southern border of the elevated plain, on which are reared those venerable relics of a by gone race, and which early attracted the notice of the first explorers of the valley of the Ohio. They have often been described by various writers, and especially in the Archæologia Americæna, which is devoted to the history of American antiquities. The object of the present article is not to describe the whole of these works, but only "the mound," which beautiful structure is considered the pride and ornament of Marietta. The venerable and worthy men, who were the directors of the Ohio company, and superintended the platting of the city of Marietta, viewing with admiration this beautiful specimen of the arts amongst the ancient proprietors of this region, reserved a square of six acres around the mound, and appropriated it to the use of a burying ground, thus giving a hallowed aspect to the spot, and preserving it from the violation of private individuals. It yet remains in all its pristine beauty, a monument of the industry and arts of the ancient inhabitants of the valley, and a lasting memento of the classic

taste of the directors of the Ohio company. Every provision was also made that could be, for the protection of the two elevated squares, or truncated pyramids, about half a mile north-west of the mound, by appropriating three acres around each of them as public squares, and placing them under the authority of the future mayor and corporation of the city. They also remain uninjured; while some of the parapets of the ancient fort and city have been dug away in grading the streets, and in some instances by individuals, when they fell within their inclosures; but to the credit of the inhabitants, it may be said, that the old works have been generally preserved with more care, than in any other town in Ohio. "The mound," a drawing of which accompanies this article, was, when first measured, fifty years since, about thirty feet in height; it is now only about twenty-eight feet. It measures one hundred and thirty yards around the base, and should be one hundred and thirty feet in diameter. It terminates not in a regular apex, but is flat on the top, measuring twenty feet across it. The shape is very regular, being that of a cone, whose sides rise at an angle of forty-five degrees. It stands in the centre of a level area, which is sixty-six yards in diameter. This is surrounded by a ditch one hundred and ninety-seven yards in circumference; it is now about four feet deep, and ten feet wide at top, sloping evenly and regularly from the top of the parapet, and inner edge of the ditch to the bottom. Outside the ditch is a wall of earth, being apparently that thrown out of the ditch, and elevated about four feet above the adjacent surface of the earth. The parapet is two hundred and thirty-four yards in circumference. On the north side is an avenue, or opening of fifteen feet in width, through the parapet, across which no ditch is dug. A few rods north, in a line with the gateway or opening, are three low mounds; the nearest is oblong or elliptical, sixty feet in length, and about twenty in width, with an elevation of six or eight feet in the centre, tapering gradually to the sides. These mounds communicate with the fort, as seen in the old plan. The parapet, ditch, circular area, and mound itself, are now covered with a vivid and splendid coat of green sward of native grasses, which protects them from the wash of the rain. There are several beautiful oaks growing on the sides of the mound. When first noticed by the settlers, it was covered with large forest trees, some of them four feet in diameter. A few years since, sheep were allowed to pasture in the cemetery grounds. In their repeated and frequent ascents of the ground, they had worn paths in its sides, down which the wintry rains taking their course, cut deep channels, threatening in a few years to ruin the beauty of the venerable structure, if not to destroy

it entirely. Some of the more intelligent inhabitants of Marietta, observing its precarious state, set on foot a subscription for its repair, and for building a new fence, and ornamenting the grounds with shade trees. Four hundred dollars were raised by subscription, and four hundred were given by the corporation, and a very intelligent man appointed to superintend the work. Three hundred dollars went to the mound, and five hundred to the fencing, planting trees, and opening walks, &c. Inclined planes of boards were erected, on which to elevate the earth in wheel-barrows. At this day it would require a sum of not less than two thousand dollars to erect a similar mound of earth. At the same time a flight of forty-six stone steps, was laid on the north side, making an easy ascent to the top. A circular seat of plank is built on the summit, protected in the outer edge by locust posts, with iron chains from post to post. The view from this elevation is one of the finest in the country, commanding a prospect of eight or nine miles up and down the Ohio river, with a broad range over the hilly region which skirts the Muskingum. No examination has been made by digging, to discover the contents of this mound, with the exception of a slight excavation into the top, many years ago, when the bones of two or three human skeletons were found. The public mind is strongly opposed to any violation, or disfiguring the original form of this beautiful structure, as well as of the old works generally. Several curious ornaments of stone and copper have been brought up at various times in digging graves in the adjacent grounds.

From the precaution taken to surround this mound with a ditch and parapet which was probably crowned also with palisades, it has been suggested that it was a place of sacrifice, and the defenses for the purpose of keeping off the common people, while the priests were engaged in their sacred offices. There is yet a wide field for some Champollion to exercise his ingenuity in developing the period and uses of these erections in the West, by analogies and comparisons with those of South America and Mexico.

S. P. Hildreth

Liberty.—Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed. The degree of restraint it is impossible in any case to settle precisely. But it ought to be the constant aim of every wise public council, to find out, by cautious experiments, and rational, cool endeavors, with how little, not how much, of this restraint the community can subsist. For liberty is a good to be improved, and not an evil to be lessened.—*Burke.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ISAAC WILLIAMS.

CHAPTER II.

Capture of John Wetzel—His release—Williams settles opposite Fort Harmer—New settlements—Great famine among the settlers—The benevolence of our hero—Famine ends—Beaver trapping—Peculiarities in Mr. Williams' character—His death.

Some time in the spring of the succeeding year he had the following adventure with the Indians.

John Wetzel, a younger brother of Lewis, the celebrated Indian hunter, then about sixteen years old, with a neighboring boy of about the same age, was in search of horses that had strayed away in the woods, on Wheeling creek, where the parents of John resided. One of the stray animals was a mare with a young foal, belonging to John's sister, and she had offered the colt to John, as a reward for finding the mare. While on this service, they were captured by a party of four Indians, who having come across the horses, had seized upon them, and placed them in a thicket, expecting that their bells would attract the notice of their owners, and they should then easily capture them or take their scalps. The horse was ever a favorite object of plunder with the savages; as not only facilitating his own escape from pursuit, but also assisting him in carrying off the spoil. The boys hearing the well known tinkle of the bells, approached the spot where the Indians lay concealed, congratulating themselves on their good luck in so readily finding the strays, and were immediately seized by the savages. John in attempting to escape was shot through the arm. On their march to the Ohio, his companion made so much lamentation and moaning on the account of his captivity, that the Indians dispatched him with the tomahawk, while John, who had once before been taken prisoner and escaped, made light of it, and went along cheerfully with his wounded arm.

The party struck the Ohio river early the following morning, at a point near the mouth of Grave creek, and just below the clearing of Mr. Tomlinson. Here they found some hogs, and killing one of them with the rifle, put it into a canoe they had stolen. Three of the Indians took possession of the canoe with their prisoner, while the other Indian was busied in swimming the horses across the river. It so happened that Isaac Williams, Hamilton Carr, and Jacob, a Dutchman, had come down that morning from Wheeling, to look after the cattle and hogs left at the deserted settlement at the mouth of the creek. While at the outlet of Little Grave creek, about a mile above, they heard the report of a rifle in the direction of the plantation. "Dod rot'em," exclaimed Mr. Williams, "a Kentuck boat has landed at the creek, and they are shooting

my hogs." Immediately quickening their pace to a smart trot, they in a few minutes were within a short distance of the creek, when they heard the loud snort of a horse. Carr being in the prime of life, and younger than Mr. Williams, was several rods ahead, and reached the bank first. As he looked down into the creek, he saw three Indians standing in a canoe; one was in the stern, one in the bow, and one in the middle of the boat. At the feet of the latter lay four rifles, and a dead hog; while a fourth Indian was swimming a horse across the Ohio, a few rods from the shore. The one in the stern had his paddle in the edge of the water in the act of turning and shoving the canoe from the mouth of the creek into the river. Before they were aware of his presence, Carr drew up and shot the Indian in the stern, who instantly fell into the water. The crack of his rifle had scarcely ceased, when Mr. Williams came on to the bank and shot the Indian in the bow of the canoe, who also fell overboard as Jacob came up. Carr dropped his own rifle, and seizing that of the Dutchman, shot the remaining Indian in the waist of the boat. He fell over into the water, but still held on to the side of the canoe with one hand. So amazed was the last Indian at the fall of his companions, that he never offered to lift one of the rifles which lay at his feet in self-defense, but acted like one bereft of his senses. By this time the canoe, impelled by the impetus given to it by the first Indian, had reached the current of the Ohio, and was some rods below the mouth of the creek. Carr now reloaded his own gun, and seeing another man lying in the bottom of the canoe, raised it to his face in the act of firing, when he seeing the movement called out, "don't shoot, I am a white-man." Carr told him to knock loose the Indian's hand from the side of the canoe, and paddle to the shore. In reply he said his arm was broken and he could not. The current however set it near some rocks not far from land, on to which he jumped and waded out. Carr now aimed his rifle at the Indian on horseback, who by this time had reached the middle of the Ohio. The shot struck near him, splashing the water on to his naked skin. The Indian seeing the fate of his companions, with the bravery of an ancient Spartan, immediately slipped from the back of the horse, and swam for the abandoned canoe, in which were the rifles of the whole four warriors. This was in fact an act of necessity, as well as of noble daring, as he well knew he could not reach his country without the means of killing game by the way. He also was aware that in this act there was little or no hazard, as his enemies could not cross the creek without a canoe; and to ford it, they must run up it nearly a mile, and before that could be done he would be out of their reach. He soon gained possession of the canoe, un-

molested, crossed with the arms to his own side of the Ohio, mounted the captive horse which had swam to the Indian shore, and with a yell of defiance escaped into the woods. The canoe was turned adrift to spite his enemies, and was taken up near Maysville with the dead hog still in it, which had caused the discovery by their shooting, and being the source of all their misfortunes.

It has been stated that Rebecca Martin, before her marriage to Mr. Williams, acted as house-keeper for her brothers for several years. In consideration of which service, her brothers, Joseph and Samuel, made an entry of four hundred acres of land on the Virginia shore of the Ohio river, directly opposite to the mouth of the Muskingum, for their sister; girdling the trees, building a cabin, and planting and fencing four acres of corn, on the high second bottom, in the spring of the year 1773. They spent the summer on the spot, occupying their time with hunting, during the growth of the crop. In this time they had exhausted their small stock of salt and bread stuff, and lived for two or three months altogether on boiled turkies, which were eaten without salt. So accustomed had Samuel become to eating his meat without this condiment, that it was sometime before he could again relish the taste of it. The following winter the two brothers hunted on the Big Kenawha. Some time in March, 1774, they reached the mouth of the river on their return. They were detained here a few days by a remarkably high freshet in the Ohio river, which from certain fixed marks on Wheeling creek, is supposed to have been fully equal to that of February, 1832. That year was long known as that of Dunmore's war, and noted for Indian depredations. The renewed and oft repeated inroads of the Indians, led Mr. Williams to turn his thoughts towards a more quiet retreat than that at Grave creek. Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum, having been erected in 1786, and garrisoned by United States troops; he came to the conclusion that he would now occupy the land belonging to his wife, and located by her brothers as before noted. This tract contained four hundred acres, and embraced a large share of rich alluvions. The piece opened by the Tomlinsons in 1773, had grown up with young saplings, but could be easily reclaimed. Having previously visited the spot and put up log cabins, he finally removed his family and effects thither, the twenty-sixth of March, A. D. 1787, being the year before the Ohio company took possession of their purchase at the mouth of the Muskingum.

In the January following the removal to his forest domain, his wife gave birth to a daughter, and was the only issue by this marriage. He was now fifty-two years old, so that she might be called the child of his

old age. This daughter was named Drusilla, and married Mr. John Henderson. She died when about twenty years old, leaving no issue. Soon after the Ohio company emigrants had established themselves at Marietta, a pleasing and friendly intercourse was kept up between Mr. Williams and them; and as he had now turned his attention more especially to clearing and cultivating his farm than to hunting, he was glad to see the new openings springing up around him, and the rude forest changing into the home of civilized man. Settlements had been commenced at Belprie and Waterford, the year after that at Marietta. As yet little had been done in cultivating the soil; their time was chiefly occupied in building cabins and clearing the land.

From the destructive effects of an untimely frost in September of the year 1789, the crops of corn were greatly injured, and where late planted entirely ruined. In the spring and summer of 1790, the inhabitants began to suffer from a want of food, especially wholesome bread-stuffs. The Indians were also becoming troublesome, and rendered it hazardous boating provisions from the older settlements on the Monongahela, or hunting for venison in the adjacent forests. Many families, especially at Belprie, had no other meal than that made from musty or mouldy corn; and were sometimes destitute even of this for several days in succession. This mouldy corn commanded nine shillings, or a dollar and a half a bushel; and when ground in their hand-mills, and made into bread, few stomachs were able to digest it, or even to retain it for a few minutes. The writer of this article has often heard his early friend, C. Devoll, Esqr., who was then a small boy, narrate with much feeling his gastronimic trials with this mouldy meal made into a dish called "sap porridge," and which when made of sweet corn meal, and the fresh sacarine juice of the maple, afforded both a nourishing and a savory dish. The family, then living at Belprie, had been without food for two days, when his father returned from Marietta, just at evening, with a scanty supply of mouldy corn. The hand-mill was immediately put in operation, and the meal cooked into sap porridge, as it was then the season of sugar making. The famished children swallowed eagerly the unsavory mess, which was almost as instantly rejected; reminding us of the deadly pottage of the children of the prophet, but lacking the healing power of an Elijah to render it salutary and nutritious. Disappointed of expected relief, the poor children went supperless to bed, to dream of savory food and plenteous meals, unrealized in their waking hours.

It was during this period of want, that Mr. Williams displayed his benevolent feelings for the suffering colonists. From the circumstance of his being in the country earlier, he had more ground cleared, and had

raised a large crop of several hundred bushels of corn. This he now distributed amongst the inhabitants, at the low rate of three shillings, or fifty cents a bushel, when at the same time he had been offered, and urged to take a dollar per bushel, by speculators, for his whole crop; for man has ever been disposed to fatten on the distresses of his fellows. "Dod rot'em," said the old hunter, "I would not let them have a bushel." He not only parted with his corn at this cheap rate, but he also prudently proportioned the number of bushels, according to the number of individuals in a family. An empty purse was no bar to the needy applicant; but his wants were equally supplied with those who had money, and a credit given untill more favorable times should enable him to discharge the debt. Captain Jonathan Devoll, the father of Charles Devoll, Esqr., now living at the mouth of the Big Hockhocking, hearing of Mr. Williams' corn, and the cheap rate at which he sold it, made a trip to Marietta, directly after the adventure with the sap-porridge, to procure some of it. The journey was made by land, and in the night, traveling on the ridges adjacent to the river, as the stream itself was so swollen by the spring flood as to prevent his traveling by water in a canoe. He chose to come in the night on account of the danger from Indians. The intrepidity of the man may be estimated from his making this journey alone, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles. He reached fort Harmer at day light. Major Doughty, the commander, after giving him a warm breakfast, ordered two soldiers to set him across the Ohio in the garrison boat. Mr. Williams treated him with much kindness, and after letting him have several bushels of corn at the moderate rate of three shillings a bushel, the usual price at that day in plentiful years, also furnished him with his only canoe in which to transport it to his home. Captain Devoll felt unwilling to take it, but he urged it upon him, saying he could soon make another.

During this season of want, some of our present inhabitants, who were then children, to this day relate, with what anxiety from week to week they watched the tardy growth of the corn, beans, and squashes, and with what delight they partook of the first meal prepared from vegetables of their own raising. Disinterested benevolence, such as every one must admire in Mr. Williams, is confined to no country, and to no age; but flourishes with the greatest vigor in the hut of the forester, and amidst the inhabitants of an exposed frontier. Common danger creates a community of feeling and of interest; and there is no doubt that our forefathers, could they again speak, would say that the years passed by them in garrison, and surrounded by dangers and privations, were some of the most

interesting, if not the most happy of their lives. Mr. Williams retained a relish for hunting to his latest years, and whenever a little unwell, forsaking his comfortable home, would take his rifle and favorite old dog "Cap," accompanied by one of his black servants, retire to the woods, and encamping by some clear stream, remain there drinking the pure water, and eating such food as his rifle procured. Medicine he never took, except such simple remedies as the forest afforded. The untrodden wilderness was to him full of charms, and before the close of the revolutionary war he had hunted over all parts of the valley of the Ohio, sometimes with a companion, but oftener alone. From his sedate manners, and quiet habits, the trapping of the beaver was his most favorite pursuit. This was a great art amongst the early pioneers and hunters of the west, and he who was the most successful and adroit in this mystery, was accounted a fortunate man; it was many times quite lucrative, the proceeds of a few months hunt often realizing three or four hundred dollars to the trapper. Mr. Williams stood high in this branch of the hunter's occupations; and few men could entrap more beavers than himself. To be a successful trapper required great caution as well as a perfect knowledge of the habits of the animal. The residence of the beaver was often discovered by seeing bits of green wood, and gnawed branches of the bass-wood, slippery elm, and sycamore, their favorite food, floating on the water, or lodged on the shores of the stream below, as well as by their tracks or foot marks. They were also sometimes discovered by their dams, thrown across creeks and small sluggish streams, forming a pond in which were erected their habitations. The hunter, as he proceeded to set his traps, generally approached by water in his canoe. He selected a steep, abrupt spot in the bank of the creek, in which a hole was excavated with his paddle, as he sat in the canoe, sufficiently large to hold the trap, and so deep as to be about three inches below the surface of the water, when the jaws of the trap were expanded. About two feet above the trap, a stick, three or four inches in length, was stuck in the bank. In the upper end of this, the trapper excavated a small hole with his knife, into which he dropped a small quantity of the essence, or perfume, used to attract the beaver to the spot. This stick was attached by a string of horse hair to the trap, and with it was pulled into the water by the beaver. The reason for this was, that it might not remain after the trap was sprung, and attract other beavers to the spot, and thus prevent their going to where there was another trap ready for them. The scent, or essence, was made by mingling the fresh castor of the beaver, with an extract of the bark of the roots of the spice-bush, and kept in a bottle for

use. The making of this essence was held a profound secret, and often sold for a considerable sum to the younger trappers, by the older proficients in the mystery of beaver hunting. Where they had no proper bait, they sometimes made use of the fresh roots of sassafras, or spice bush; of both these the beaver was very fond. It is said by old trappers that they will smell the well prepared essence the distance of a mile. Their sense of smell is very acute, or they would not so readily detect the vicinity of man by the smell of his trail. The aroma of the essence having attracted the animal into the vicinity of the trap, in his attempt to reach it, he has to climb up on to the bank where it is sticking. This effort leads him directly over the trap, and he is usually taken by one of the fore legs. The trap was connected by a chain of iron, six feet in length, to a stout line made of the bark of the leatherwood, twisted into a neat cord, of fifteen or twenty feet. These were usually fabricated at home or at their camps; cords of hemp or flax were scarce in the days of beaver hunting. The end of the line was secured to a stake drove into the bed of the creek under water. In his struggles to escape, the beaver was usually drowned before the arrival of the trapper. Sometimes, however, he freed himself by gnawing off his own leg, though this was rarely the case. If there was a prospect of rain, or it was raining at the time of setting the trap, a leaf, generally of sycamore, was placed over the essence stick to protect it from the rain. The beaver being a very sagacious and cautious animal, it required great care in the trapper, in his approach to its haunts to set his traps, that no scent of his feet or hands was left on the earth, or bushes that he touched. For this reason he generally approached in a canoe. If he had no canoe, it was necessary to enter the stream thirty or forty yards below, and walk in the water to the place, taking care to return in the same manner, or the beaver would take alarm and not come near the bait, as his fear of the vicinity of man was greater than his sense of appetite for the essence. It also required caution in kindling a fire near their haunts, as the smell of smoke alarmed them. The firing of a gun, also often marred the sport of the trapper. Thus it will be seen that to make a successful beaver hunter, required more qualities or natural gifts, than fall to the share of most men. Mr. Williams was eminently qualified for the calling of a hunter, both by disposition and by practice. He was a close observer of nature; taciturn in his manners, and slow and cautious in his movements: never in a hurry, or flurried by an unexpected occurrence. In many respects he was an exact portrait of Cooper's "beau ideal" of a master hunter, so finely portrayed in "the Pioneer," and other back woods legends.

During the Indian war, from 1791 to 1795, he remained unmolested in his cabin, protected in some measure from attack, by the Ohio river and the proximity of fort Harmer, as well as by the stockade around his own dwellings, which sheltered several families besides his own. Mr. Williams seldom spoke of his own exploits, and when related, they generally came from the lips of his companions. There was only one situation in which he could be induced to relax his natural reserve, and freely narrate the romantic and hazardous adventures which had befallen him in his hunting and war excursions in all parts of the western wilderness, and that was when encamped by the evening fire, in some remote spot, after the toils of the day were closed, and the supper of venison and bear meat finished. Here while reclining on a bed of fresh leaves, beneath the lofty branches of the forest, with no listener but the stars and his companion, the spirit of narration would come upon him, and for hours he would rehearse the details of his youthful and hazardous adventures by forest, flood, and field. In such situations, surrounded by the works of God, his body and his mind felt a freedom that the hut and the clearing could not give. In this manner, the late Alexander Henderson informed the writer, he had passed some of the most interesting hours of his life, while hunting with Mr. Williams on the heads of the Little Kenawha. In person, he was of the middle size, with an upright frame and robust muscular limbs; his features firm and strongly marked, with a taciturn and quiet manner. In his youth he does not appear to have been attached to the rude sports, and rough plays, so congenial to most of the borderers of those early days, but preferred social converse, and an interchange of good offices with his fellows. Although he lived at a time and in a situation where he was deprived of all opportunity for religious instruction, yet he appears to have had an intuitive dread of all vicious words or actions. The writer distinctly recollects hearing him reprove a keel boatman, a class of men whose language was intermingled with oaths, in the most severe manner for his profanity, as he was passing the boat where the man was at work.

Like Isaac and Rebecca of old, this modern Isaac and Rebecca were given to good deeds; and many a poor, sick, and abandoned boatman has been nursed and restored to health beneath their humble roof. Many years before his death he liberated all his slaves; and by his will left valuable tokens of his love and good feeling for the oppressed and despised African. Full of days and of good deeds, and strong in the faith of a blessed immortality, Mr. Williams resigned his spirit to Him who gave it, the 25th of September, A. D. 1820, aged eighty-four years; and was buried in a beautiful grove on his

own plantation, surrounded by the trees he so dearly loved when living.

A. P. Stewart

DAILY JOURNAL OF WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN,

From July 28th to November 2d, 1794, including an account of the memorable battle of 20th August.

[Concluded.]

Fort Defiance, 1st September, 1794.—This morning the fatigue party ordered yesterday began to fortify and strengthen the fort and make it of sufficient strength to be proof against heavy metal: the work now on hand is a glascis with fascines, and a ditch twelve feet wide and eight feet deep; the block-houses are to be made bomb-proof.

Fort Defiance, 2d September, 1794.—Every effective man of the light troops in the redoubts round the camp were ordered this morning to make three fascines.

The foraging party that went out this day brought in as much corn, dry enough to grate, as will suffice the troops three days. The soldiery gets sick very fast with the fever and ague, and have it severely.

Fort Defiance, 3d September, 1794.—Nothing but hard fatigues going forward in all quarters. The garrison begins to put on the appearance of strength, and will in a few days be able to stand the shock of heavy cannon: the troops are very sickly, and I believe the longer we continue in this place the worse it will be.

Fort Defiance, 4th September, 1794.—The number of our sick increases daily, provision is nearly exhausted; the whisky has been out for some time, which makes the hours pass heavily to the tune of Roslin Castle, when in our present situation they ought to go to the quick step of the merry man down to his grave. Hard duty and scanty allowance will cause an army to be low spirited, particularly the want of a little of the *wet.*

If it was not for the forage we get from the enemy's fields, the rations would not be sufficient to keep soul and body together.

Fort Defiance, 5th September, 1794.—No news of the escort; this day the troops drew no flour, and I fear we will shortly draw no beef; however, as long as the issuing of beef continues the troops will not suffer, as there is still corn in abundance on the river.

Fort Defiance, 6th September, 1794.—The work on the garrison

goes on with life and will be completed in a few days. The weather very wet and cold, this morning there is a small frost.

Fort Defiance, 7th September, 1794.—Nothing of consequence took place this day. Our sick are getting better.

Fort Defiance, 8th September, 1794.—This day brings us information of the escort; by express we learn it will be with us to-morrow. It will be fortunate for us should provisions arrive, as we have not drawn any flour since the 7th instant, nevertheless we have the greatest abundance of vegetables.

Fort Defiance, 9th September, 1794.—The escort has not yet arrived, but will be in to-morrow. General Scott with the residue is ordered to march to-morrow morning at reveillie. The commander-in-chief engaged with the volunteers to bring on the flour from Greenville on their own horses, for which they are to receive three dollars per hundred, delivered at the Miami villages.

Fort Defiance, 10th September, 1794.—The escort arrived this day about 3 o'clock, and brought with them 200 kegs of flour and nearly 200 head of cattle. Captain Preston and ensigns Strother, Bowyer and Lewis, joined us this day with the escort. We received no liquor by this command, and I fancy we shall not receive any until we get into winter quarters, which will make the fatigues of the campaign appear double, as I am persuaded the troops would much rather live on half rations of beef and bread, provided they could obtain their full rations of whisky. The vegetables are as yet in the greatest abundance. The soldiers of captain Wm. Lewis' company are in perfect health, the wounded excepted.

Fort Defiance, 11th September, 1794.—This day general Barber's brigade of mounted volunteers marched for Fort Recovery for provisions, to meet us at the Miami villages by the 20th.

Fort Defiance, 12th September, 1794.—This day the pioneers were ordered to cut the road up the Miami under the direction of the sub-legionary quarter-master; they are to commence at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Fort Defiance, 13th September, 1794.—This day a general order was issued, setting forth that the legion would march to-morrow morning precisely at 7 o'clock, every department to prepare themselves accordingly.

The squaw that Wells captured on the 11th August, was this day liberated and sent home. Three soldiers of the 1st and three of the 3d sub-legions deserted last night; sixteen volunteers pursued them, they are to receive twenty dollars if they bring them in dead or alive.

Camp 11½ Mile Tree, 14th September, 1794.—The legion began

their march for the Miami villages at 7 o'clock this morning and encamped on this ground at 3 o'clock, after marching in the rain eight hours.

Camp 23d Mile Tree, 15th September, 1794.—The legion marched at 6 and encamped at 4 o'clock. Captain Preston, who commanded the light troops in the rear, got lost and lay out from the army all night with a large part of the baggage.

Camp 33d Mile Tree, 16th September, 1794.—We encamped on this ground at 4 o'clock, after passing over very rough roads, and woods thick with brush, the timber very lofty and the land generally rich and well watered.

Camp Miami Villages, 17th September, 1794.—The army halted on this ground at 5 o'clock, P. M., being 47 miles from Fort Defiance and 14 from our last encampment; there are nearly 500 acres of cleared land lying in one body on the rivers St. Joseph, St. Mary's and the Miami; there are fine points of land contiguous to those rivers adjoining the cleared land. The rivers are navigable for small craft in the summer, and in the winter there is water sufficient for large boats, the land adjacent fertile and well timbered, and from every appearance it has been one of the largest settlements made by the Indians in this country.

Camp Miami Villages, 18th September, 1794.—This day the commander-in-chief reconnoitered the ground and determined on the spot to build a garrison on. The troops fortified their camps, as they halted too late yesterday to cover themselves. Four deserters from the British came to us this day, they bring information that the Indians are encamped 8 miles below the British fort to the number of 1600.

Camp Miami Villages, 19th September, 1794.—This day we hear that general Barber's brigade of mounted volunteers are within 12 miles of this place and will be in early to-morrow with large supplies of flour; we have had heavy rains, the wind N. W., and the clouds have the appearance of emptying large quantities on this western world.

Camp Miami Villages, 20th September, 1794.—Last night it rained violently and the wind blew from the N. W. harder than I knew heretofore. General Barber with his command arrived in camp about 9 o'clock this morning with 553 kegs of flour, each containing 100lbs.

Camp Miami Villages, 21st September, 1794.—The commander-in-chief reviewed the legion this day at 1 o'clock. All the quartermaster's horses set off this morning escorted by the mounted volunteers for Greenville, and are to return the soonest possible; we have

not one quart of salt on this ground, which occasions bad and disagreeable living, until the arrival of the next escort.

Camp Miami Villages, 22d September, 1794.—Nothing of consequence took place this day, except that the troops drew no salt with their fresh provisions.

Camp Miami Villages, 23d September, 1794.—Four deserters from the British garrison arrived at our camp: they mention that the Indians are still embodied on the Miami, 9 miles below the British fort; that they are somewhat divided in opinion, some are for peace and others for war.

Camp Miami Villages, 24th September, 1794.—This day the work commenced on the garrison, which I am apprehensive will take some time to complete it. A keg of whisky containing ten gallons, was purchased this day for eighty dollars, a sheep for ten dollars; three dollars was offered for one pint of salt, but it could not be obtained for less than six.

Camp Miami Villages, 25th September, 1794.—Lieutenant Blue of the dragoons was this day arrested by ensign Johnson of the 4th S. L., but a number of their friends interfering the dispute was settled upon lieutenant Blue's asking ensign Johnson's pardon.

Camp Miami Villages, 26th September, 1794.—M'Cleland, one of our spies, with a small party came in this evening from Fort Defiance, who brings information that the enemy are troublesome about the garrison, and that they have killed some of our men under the walls of the fort. Sixteen Indians were seen to day near this place, a small party went in pursuit of them. I have not heard what discoveries they have made.

Camp Miami Villages, 27th September, 1794.—No intelligence of the enemy; the rain fell considerably last night, this morning the wind is S. W.

Camp Miami Villages, 28th September, 1794.—the weather proves colder.

Camp Miami Villages, 30th September, 1794.—Salt and whisky were drawn by the troops this day and a number of the soldiery became much intoxicated, they having stolen a quantity of liquor from the quarter-master.

Camp Miami Villages, 1st October, 1794.—The volunteers appear to be uneasy, and have refused to do duty; they are ordered by the commander-in-chief to march to-morrow for Greenville to assist the pack-horses, which I am told they are determined not to do.

Camp Miami Villages, 2d October, 1794.—This morning the volunteers refused to go on command, and demanded of general Scott

to conduct them home; he ordered them to start with general Barber, or if they made the smallest delay they should lose all their pay and be reported to the war office as revolters; this had the desired effect, and they went off not in good humor.

Camp Miami Villages, 3d October, 1794.—Every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier belonging to the square, are on fatigue this day, hauling trees on the hind wheels of wagons: the first day we got an extra gill per man, which appears to be all the compensation at this time in the power of the commander-in-chief to make the troops.

Camp Miami Villages, 4th October, 1794.—This morning we had the hardest frost I ever saw in the middle of December, it was like a small snow; there was ice in our camp-kettles ¾ of an inch thick: the fatigues go on with velocity, considering the rations the troops are obliged to live on.

Camp Miami Villages, 5th October, 1794.—The weather extremely cold, and hard frosts, the wind N. W.; every thing quiet and nothing but harmony and peace throughout the camp, which is something uncommon.

Camp Miami Villages, 6th October, 1794.—Plenty and quietness the same as yesterday; the volunteers engaged to work on the garrison, for which they are to receive three gills of whisky per man per day, their employment is digging the ditch and filling up the parapet.

Camp Miami Villages, 7th October, 1794.—The volunteers are soon tired of work and have refused to labor any longer; they have stolen and killed 17 beeves in the course of these two days past.

Camp Miami Villages, 8th October, 1794.—The troops drew but half rations of flour this day. The cavalry and other horses die very fast, not less than four or five per day.

Camp Miami Villages, 9th October, 1794.—The volunteers have agreed to build a block-house in front of the garrison.

Camp Miami Villages, 11th October, 1794.—A Canadian [Rozelle] with a flag arrived this evening; his business was to deliver up three prisoners in exchange for his brother, who was taken on the 20th August; he brings information that the Indians are in council with Girty and M'Kee near the fort of Detroit, that all the tribes are for peace except the Shawneese, who are determined to prosecute the war.

Camp Miami Villages, 12th October, 1794.—The mounted volunteers of Kentucky marched for Greenville, to be mustered and dismissed the service of the United States army, they being of no further service therein.

Camp Miami Villages, 13th October, 1794.—Captain Gibson marched this day and took with him a number of horses for Fort Recovery to receive supplies of provisions.

Camp Miami Villages, 14th October, 1794.—Nothing particular this day.

Camp Miami Villages, 15th October, 1794.—The Canadian that came in on the 11th, left us this day accompanied by his brother; they have promised to furnish the garrison at Defiance with stores at a moderate price, which, if performed, will be a great advantage to the officers and soldiers of that post.

Camp Miami Villages, 16th October, 1794.—Nothing new, weather wet, and cold, wind from N. W. The troops healthy in general.

Camp Miami Villages, 17th October, 1794.—This day captain Gibson arrived with a large quantity of flour, beef, and sheep.

Camp Miami Villages, 18th October, 1794.—Captain Springer and Brock, with all the pack-horses, marched with the cavalry this morning for Greenville, and the foot for Recovery, the latter to return with the smallest delay with a supply of provisions for this post and Defiance.

Camp Miami Villages, 19th October, 1794.—This day the troops were not ordered for labor, being the first day for four weeks, and accordingly attended divine service.

Camp Miami Villages, 20th October, 1794.—An express arrived this day with despatches to the commander-in-chief; the contents are kept secret.

A court-martial to sit this day for the trial of lieutenant Charles Hyde.

Camp Miami Villages, 21st October, 1794.—This day were read the proceedings of a general court-martial, held on lieutenant Charles Hyde, (yesterday) was found not guilty of the charges exhibited against him, and was therefore acquitted.

Camp Miami Villages, 22d October, 1794.—This morning at 7 o'clock the following companies, under the command of lieutenant-colonel-commandant Hamtramck of the 1st sub-legion, took possession of this place, viz: captain Kingsbury's 1st; captain Greaton's 2d; captain Spark's and captain Reed's, 3d; captain Preston's 4th; and captain Porter's, of artillery; and after firing fifteen rounds of cannon, colonel Hamtramck gave it the name of Fort Wayne.

Camp Miami Villages, 23d October, 1794.—The general fatigue of the garrison ended this day, and colonel Hamtramck, with the troops under his command, to furnish it as he may think fit.

All the soldier's huts are completed except covering, and the weather is favorable for that work.

Camp Miami Villages, 24th October, 1794.—This day the troops drew but half rations of beef and flour, the beef very bad.

Camp Miami Villages, 25th October, 1794.—Nothing extraordinary the same as Yesterday.

This evening captain Springer with the escort, arrived with a supply of flour and salt. A Frenchman and a half Indian came to headquarters, but where they are from or their business we cannot learn but that it is of a secret nature.

Camp Miami Villages, 26th October, 1794.—Nothing occurring to-day except an expectation to march the day after to-morrow.

Camp Miami Villages, 27th October, 1794.—Agreeable to general orders of this day, we will march for Greenville to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

Camp nine miles from Fort Wayne, 28th October, 1794.—The legion took up the line of march at 9 o'clock and arrived here without any thing particular occurring.

Camp twenty-one miles from Fort Wayne, 29th October, 1794.—The troops proceeded on their march at sun-rise, and arrived on this ground at half past 3 o'clock, our way was through rich and well timbered land, the weather cold and much like for rain.

Camp South West side of St. Mary's river, 30th October, 1794.—The legion proceeded on their march at 7 o'clock, and arrived here at sun-set, continual heavy rain all day.

Camp Girty's Town, 31st October, 1794.—The troops took up their line of march at sun-rise, and arrived here three hours after night, through heavy rain.

Greenville, 2nd November, 1794.—This evening the legion arrived here, where they march from 28th July, 1794.

We were saluted with twentyfour rounds from a six-pounder. Our absence from this ground amounted to three Months and six days. And so ends the expedition of general Wayne's campaign.

Adelphi, July 5th, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.—*Dear Sir:*—The leaves missing from the journal of Wayne's campaign have been lost some years. The interest of the remainder is not materially impaired by the accident. This shows the great utility of a work like the Pioneer devoted to collecting and preserving such manuscript. Yours.

Geo. Will

WAR IN VIRGINIA.

The following is another reminiscence from our faithful correspondent in Missouri. It is truly interesting. He says, "to tell all would fill a volume;" we say, tell it if it fills twenty volumes. Is it possible that the American people will not support a periodical, which shall save from oblivion an account of the perils, hairbreadth escapes, and the prowess of our fathers and mothers? They will support it. Go on, Mr. Sharp.

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CONTENTS.

False report that Glade Hollow fort was taken—The true history of the affair—Mr. Sharp's sisters captured, taken to Canada, and returned—Logan's life and death—Ranger's war upon the tories—Other ranging parties—Mrs. Scott's captivity, &c.

Warren county, Missouri, July 13th, 1842.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

My memory will not justify me in settling dates precisely; but to the best of my recollection, it was in the year 1778, about the middle of May, that news came flying to our settlement like fire in a prairie, that the Glade Hollow fort, on Clinch, (now Russell county,) was taken by the Indians, and every soul in it either killed or captured. My oldest sister, with her husband and family, I expected was in that fort. That same evening, sun about an hour high, eighteen of us, including our officer, lieutenant Samuel Newel, set off for that fort. We ran about twelve miles that evening, and waded the north fork of Holston just before night, which wet us above the middle; and when night set in we were forced to stop and lie down without fire, wet as we were, for we had no trace we could follow in the night, and in many places the weeds and grass were waist high. We set off the next morning by early dawn, and arrived in view of the fort by eight or nine o'clock. On reconnoitering we found the fort had not been taken as was reported; but on discovering us, every soul in it ran out to meet us, and I learned that my brother-in-law and family had removed to another fort called Elk Garden, ten miles higher up the country.

The true history of the case was this; a man by the name of Whitesides, a large active man, came down one evening from the Elk Garden to the Glade Hollow, to hunt a horse he had running in that range; the next morning he set out to find his horse, and his not returning to the fort created no suspicion, they thinking he had found his horse and returned home; but he had not proceeded more than two miles when his horse was shot down under him, and himself captured by nine Indians. They pinioned his arms back, loaded him with their extra plunder and some meat cut out of the dead horse, and in this manner they were skulking and spying about for three or four days, watching

an opportunity to attack the fort. The fort was in a wretched state of defense; there were but seven men in it, and they were every day engaged in bringing saltpetre dust from a cave at some distance from the fort, to make saltpetre. This the Indians soon discovered, and resolved to take the fort the next time the men went out; on seeing the men about to start, they tied Whitesides' feet, and left one Indian to guard him, while the others sought a more convenient place to effect their purpose, as soon as the men were gone. In the mean time the Indian who had charge of Whitesides, thinking they were too much exposed to view, untied his feet, and made him creep further into the brush; and laying down his gun, sat down before him to tie his feet again. At that moment Whitesides seized the gun, and although his arms were pinioned, gave him such a blow over the head, as broke the gun to pieces, and felled him to the ground, and perhaps extinguished life. He then sprang to his feet, and gave the alarm to the men, who strained back to the fort with all their speed; but Whitesides ran past the fort towards the Elk Garden, carrying all the Indian plunder on his back. The Indians on hearing the alarm, ran back as was supposed, and finding their companion perhaps lifeless, pursued Whitesides, and met a party of men, about forty in number, in plain view of the fort, coming carelessly along to serve as rangers, on whom they fired and killed two, and the rest fled ingloriously, each one his own way, spreading the alarm that the fort was taken.

The next day after our arrival we were joined by a captain James Dysart, with about the same number of men that we had, and for part of the summer we entered upon the laborious service of ranging through the mountains, with no other success than perhaps giving greater security to the forts. This same sister, and another of my sisters, with their husbands and families, removed I think the same fall to Kentucky, and were all taken by the British and Indians in Riddle's station, on Licking, and carried to Canada, and detained there as prisoners, till the end of the war; but they all got safe home with the increase of one in each family.

The celebrated Logan was with this party; my brother-in-law, captain John Dunkin, an intelligent man, had several conversations with him on the trip. He said Logan spoke both English and French; he told captain Dunkin that he knew he had two souls, the one good and the other bad; when the good soul had the ascendant, he was kind and humane; and when the bad soul ruled, he was perfectly savage, and delighted in nothing but blood and carnage. The account that captain Dunkin gave of his death was, that his brother-in-law killed him as they returned home from a council

held at Detroit, on account of some misusage he had given his sister at the council.

If I am correct, I think the next year, 1779, about the time of harvest, news was received that the tories were embodying on the head of the Yadkin, in North Carolina, and on New river and Walker's creek, in Virginia, with the intention of destroying the lead works on New river, from which the West had its chief supply of lead, and then to force their way to the head-quarters of lord Cornwallis, which was then in the Carolinas. Our militia, all well mounted, turned out under colonel William Campbell, a brave intrepid officer, and proceeded to meet this, to us, new kind of enemy; but the tories did not choose to meet us in the field, but dispersed at our approach. We were then dispatched in small detachments, and had active business for several weeks, pursuing, taking, and imprisoning tories. We subsisted ourselves and horses on their grain and stock, and compelled those who were old and unfit for service, to give surety for their good behavior, or go to jail, and pardoned the young effective men, on condition of their serving as faithful soldiers in the armies of the United States, during the war, as an atonement for their crimes. Thus we became the most successful recruiting parties that perhaps had ever been employed. In this expedition, although we did hard and active duty, yet we had no fighting, no lives lost or men wounded.

Various other ranging parties and small expeditions were carried on during the war, particularly one against an Indian town called Chickeymagee; and another in search of certain Indian lodges, said to be in the lower end of Powel's valley; but as I was not engaged in any of them, I have no recollection of particulars, nor even of the officers' names under whom they were undertaken, with the exception of the one down Powel's valley, which was commanded by colonel Joseph Martin, and which I think found one lodge, and killed two Indians. My next elder brother was with this party.

In these times our part of the country was in a constant state of alarm. To recount all the hairbreadth escapes and murders committed by marauding parties of Indians, would fill a volume. A Mrs. Hamblin defended her house against the attack of eleven Indians, with only an old musket that would not fire; but the next year they killed her and nearly all the family, and took one of her little boys prisoner to Canada. Twenty-four Indians broke into the house of a Mr. Scott just after dark, and killed him and all his children, and took Mrs. Scott prisoner. Another house which stood close by, in which was a little girl, eleven or twelve years old, with her little brother

some years younger than her, they did not enter, but shot through the door and killed the boy; the girl sprung out at a window, and hid in a nursery of young peach trees till the Indians were gone; she then re-entered the house, laid out her dead brother, and set by him all night, and till late the next day, when a party of men arrived to bury the dead. Mrs. Scott traveled with her captors for several days, till at length they encamped on the bank of a large river, supposed to be the Ohio; here the Indians separated, for what purpose she could not tell, leaving her in the care of two. After resting here some days, she found means to escape from her keepers, and wandered thirty-three days through wilderness and mountains, before she reached the settlements, without any subsistence but such roots, buds, and berries, as she could find. One of our neighbors, a respectable young man by the name of Fulkerson, was killed when driving up his horses from the range. My oldest brother, Thomas Sharp, was fired at and badly wounded, but being on horseback, made his escape, and recovered of his wound. My brother-in-law, Jacob Fulkerson, and a young man by the name of Callahan, were both killed when hunting their cattle in the range. Such were the difficulties, not half told, the early settlers on Holston's river had to encounter during the revolution, and for several years after. The most important expedition, in its consequences, took place from that part of Virginia, in the year 1780, of which, perhaps, I may give you the particulars in a future communication. Most respectfully yours, &c.

Benj. Sharp

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Toleration.—In the year 1791, two Creek chiefs accompanied an American to England, where, as usual, they attracted great attention, and many flocked around them, as well to learn their ideas of certain things as to behold "the savages." Being asked their opinion of religion, or of what religion they were, one made answer, that they had no priests in their country, or established religion, for they thought, that, upon a subject where there was no possibility of people's agreeing in opinion, and as it was altogether matter of *mere* opinion, "it was best that every one should paddle his canoe his own way." Here is a volume of instruction in a short answer of a savage!—[*Drake.*]

POST OFFICE FACILITIES.

Auditor's Office, Post Office Dep't., July 25, 1842.

Dear Sir,—I have been too much occupied, for several months, with the *present* condition of this branch of the post office department, to look into its general, *early* history. I recommence with the first report made to congress on the 25th of July, 1775; and until I had put this date on paper, I did not notice, that I had resumed to write to you, just sixty-seven years after the first report was presented by the committee, appointed to consider the best means of establishing posts, for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent.

This is comparatively a short period of time; but there is not now in existence one single person, who was a member of the first or second congress. What have time, and intelligence, and energy, under the guidance of an over-ruling Providence, done for this country, and for this people! Sixty-seven years ago to-day, congress resolved, to appoint a postmaster-general, and it recommended that he establish a weekly post to South Carolina. The mail was to be carried on horseback, as a matter of course, for sulky, wagon and stage were not common, and as for steamboats and railroad-cars, they had not been heard of, nor named: and if our fathers in that day had been told, that in about half a century, the mail would be conveyed in these vehicles, they would not have more marvelled, nor have been less astonished, than we should be now, were it revealed to us, that within the next fifty years, the mails will be conveyed in balloons, from continent to continent.

The first congress assembled at Carpenters' Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, Monday, September 5th, 1774; and continued in session until Wednesday, October 26th, when it dissolved itself. The journal furnishes no evidence, that the subject of sending intelligence by posts was under consideration.

The second congress assembled at the state-house in Philadelphia, on Wednesday, May 10th, 1775, and on the 29th, the following entry was made in the journal.

"As the present critical situation of the colonies renders it highly necessary that ways and means should be devised for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence from one end of the continent to the other, *Resolved*, That Mr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Lee, Mr. Willing, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. P. Livingston, be a committee to consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent."

This is the first recorded exercise of power by congress, over the subject, that is found.

The committee reported on Tuesday, July 25th, 1775, and on the next day the same was debated and agreed to, as follows: "That a postmaster-general be appointed for the united colonies, who shall hold his office at Philadelphia, and shall be allowed a salary of one thousand dollars per annum, for himself, and three hundred and forty dollars per annum, for a secretary, and comptroler, with power to appoint such, and so many deputies, as to him may seem proper and necessary.

"That a line of posts be appointed, under the direction of the postmaster-general, from Falmouth in New England, to Savannah in Georgia, with so many cross-posts, as he shall think fit.

"That the allowances to the deputies, in lieu of salary, and all contingent expenses, shall be twenty per centum on the sums they collect and pay into the general post office annually, when the whole is under or not exceeding one thousand dollars, and ten per centum, for all sums above one thousand dollars, a year.

"That the several deputies account quarterly with the general postoffice; and the postmaster-general annually with the continental treasurers, when he shall pay into the receipt of the said treasurers the profits of the post office, and if the necessary expense of this establishment should exceed the produce of it, the deficiency shall be made good by the united colonies, and paid to the postmaster-general by the continental treasurers.

"On motion made, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the postmaster-general to establish a weekly post to South Carolina.

"That it be left to the postmaster-general, to appoint a secretary and comptroler.

"The congress then proceeded to the election of a postmaster-general for one year, and until another is appointed by a future congress, when Benjamin Franklin, Esq. was unanimously chosen."

On the 7th of November, 1776, the following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, That Richard Bache be appointed postmaster-general, in the room of Dr. Franklin, who is absent."

Mr. Bache was son-in-law to Dr. Franklin, and the first comptroler appointed in the general post office. He held the office until Monday, January 28th, 1782, when congress proceeded to the election of a postmaster-general, and the ballots being taken, Mr. Ebenezer Hazard was elected, having been previously nominated by Mr. Sherman.

Mr. Hazard had been inspector of dead letters, in which station he intercepted some letters of importance, for which he was complimented by congress, on the day he was promoted.

On Friday, August 30th, 1776, the committee for regulating the post

office further reported, which was taken into consideration, whereupon congress "*Resolved*, That the communication of intelligence with frequency and dispatch, from one part to another of this extensive continent, is essentially requisite to its safety, and therefore, that there be employed, on the public post-roads, a rider for every twenty-five or thirty miles, whose business it shall be, to proceed through his stage three times in every week, setting out immediately on the receipt of the mail, and traveling with the same by night and by day, without stopping, until he shall have delivered it to the next rider, and that the postmaster-general be desired, either by the use of way-bills, or such other means as he shall find most efficacious, to prevent delay in the riders, and to discover whence they happen, that such dilatory riders be discharged."

It was recommended to the states, to excuse deputy postmasters from the public duties which might call them from their offices, and prevent them receiving and delivering letters. Congress afterwards excused them from performing military duty.

To defray in part the expense of keeping three advice boats in service, the select committee were empowered to freight merchandize and other commodities, as will be seen by the following resolution, adopted at the last mentioned date.

"*Resolved*, That three advice boats be established, one to ply between the state of North Carolina and such ports as shall be most convenient to the place at which congress shall be setting; one other between the state of South Carolina and the said port; and one other between the state of Georgia and the same port. That such advice boats be armed, and put under the direction of the secret committee, who are empowered to freight them with such merchandize or other commodities as, without retarding their passage, may, together with the usual postage on letters and other papers transmitted by them, contribute to defray the expenses of the said boats."

Economy in those days was less discussed than practised.

Here is a case in point, to justify the mail-contractors, to transport oysters in their stages from the Atlantic to the western wilds; but the restriction "without retarding their passage," should be scrupulously observed.

Congress, as we have seen by the fundamental law, passed on the 25th day of July, 1775, pledged the profits of the post office, to defray the necessary expense of the establishment, and bound itself, to make good the deficiency to the postmaster-general. This is probably the reason why the postmaster-general incurred no expense, without the express direction of congress having been first given.

The following resolution very satisfactorily shows, that the com mandants at distinct and distant posts, did not regularly communicate with congress, if they sent expresses at all.

Richard Bache, comptroler of the post office, in a letter which was referred to a committee, had pointed out the deficiency of intelligence from different portions of the army, and on the 5th of November, 1776, the committee reported: whereupon congress "*Resolved*, That for obtaining early and frequent intelligence from the camps at White Plains, and Ticonderoga, or such other places as the armies now, or lately were, may march or have marched to, and forwarding dispatches to the commanding officers, with the like expedition, the postmaster-general do immediately employ so many more riders, between Philadelphia and head-quarters of these armies, as he shall judge will most effectually perform that very important, and at this time, more especially necessary service: and that he endeavor to the utmost of his power, to procure sober, diligent, and trusty persons, to undertake it: and guard in the best manner he is able against robberies of the mails, or losses of their contents otherwise."

Ferry keepers were enjoined to expedite the passage of post riders, and others charged with dispatches to congress, and the state legislators were recommended, to carry the resolution into effect.

It appears, that all services at that period were obtained and paid for under contracts; and that perquisites and emoluments were disapproved, for congress "*Resolved*, That expresses and special messengers, employed in the public service, taking and carrying private letters, and packets, ought not to receive the wages they would otherwise be entitled to."

The compensation of the postmaster-general was increased to two thousand dollars, on the 16th of April, 1779.

Monday, December 27th, 1779, congress "*Resolved*, That the post office be so regulated, as that the post shall set out, and arrive, at the place where congress shall be setting, twice in every week; to go so far as Boston, in Massachusetts Bay, and to Charleston, in the state of South Carolina."

That, as the duties of the postmaster-general and comptroler, will henceforward be considerably increased, by the above resolution, the salary of the postmaster-general be 5000 dollars per annum, and the comptroler's be 4000 dollars per annum. The officers in the general post office establishment, at periods from 1775 to 1789, or during the confederation of the states, were, a postmaster-general, secretary, comptroler, three surveyors, and an inspector of dead letters.

The postmaster-general appointed his deputy postmasters, estab-

lished post offices, hired post-riders, &c.; dispatched the mail, as congress required. Different orders and resolutions show, that congress supervised and directed the whole, and in many instances, in minute detail.

It is not probable he had the power to remove a deputy postmaster, for on the 20th of October, 1776, congress "*Resolved*, That the pastmaster-general be directed to remove Bessonet, of Bristol, in Pennsylvania, from the office of deputy postmaster, and appoint some other trusty person in that town to that office." Bessonet and his bar-keeper, were accused with having intercepted a packet from general Washington, and the state authority, through the counsel of safety of Pennsylvania, was supplicated to arrest Bessonet and his bar-keeper and to carry them to Philadelphia for examination, keeping them apart.

The secretary acted as clerk to the postmaster-general, and the comptroler examined and passed, or disallowed the accounts of post masters, and others, and was book-keeper.

The surveyors traveled on the routes, collected from the postmasters when they did not remit, and attended to the post riders, and proba bly paid them their services.

By a resolution passed on the 17th of October, 1777, the postmaster-general was authorised to appoint two additional surveyors, and their tours were assigned to them by congress, as follows: "One from Casco Bay to Philadelphia, or during the enemy's being in possession of that city, to Lancaster. One from Philadelphia or Lancaster to Edentown, in North Carolina, and the third, from Edentown to Savannah, in Georgia."

By the same resolution an inspector of dead letters was appointed, with a salary of one hundred dollars a year, and his duties were defined, as follows, "to examine all dead letters, at the expiration of each quarter; to communicate to congress such as contain inimical schemes, or intelligence; to preserve carefully all money, loan office certificates, lottery tickets, notes of hand, and other valuable papers inclosed in any of them, and be accountable for them, and to keep a book containing an exact account of such papers, &c. so found, the date of the letters, from whence, and by whom written, and to whom directed; that he be under oath faithfully and impartially to discharge the duties of his office; that he be enjoined to take no copy of any letter whatever, and not to divulge their contents to any but congress, or those whom they may appoint for that purpose."

The general features of these regulations, as to noting, filing and keeping letters, with their contents, if valuable, have been observed and practiced, to the present time.

The duties of the office must have been trifling, when compared to what they are now. Instead of one clerk employed, at the expiration of each quarter, there are now four clerks assigned to this branch of the public service, who are employed constantly, and others incidentally, as the dead letters are sent with the waybills and quarterly returns.

The number of dead letters, which were returned to the general post office at that period, cannot be ascertained. In a report made in 1830, it is stated, that the number of dead letters returned to the general post office in 1829 was 380,000, and it was reported in 1831, that the number in 1830 was about 500,000, and the number for the last year is stated to have been about 1,250,000.

They are from every section of this country; and ship letters are from every nation, people, and tongue having any intercourse with us. They are upon all subjects, concerning which people write. They contain all kinds of articles transmitted by mail, from ringlets of hair to silk dresses.

Drugs and medicines, and large tin tubes or cases containing maps, and valuable papers, are not uncommon.

The salaries of the officers in the post office establishment, and the pay of post-riders, varied with the fluctuations of the value of the currency.

Congress paid the salary of the postmaster-general, on the 15th of September, 1780, at $1000, and that of the secretary and comptroler at $500 each.

On the 14th of October following, the surveyors of the post office were allowed $533 33, and $3 50 a day when traveling, and from these respective dates, such salaries were to be paid in specie. They were afterwards increased.

The post-riders furnished their own horses and forage, generally, for on the 12th of December, 1780, it was ordered, "That the post-riders to the eastward, during their necessary stay at Fishkill, have their horses kept in the public stables, and that a reasonable deduction be made from their pay, for the forage they shall be supplied with." They were occasionally intercepted by the enemy, and at the date last mentioned, it was ordered "That the postmaster-general order the post-riders to travel through Connecticut, at a distance from the sea shore, in such a manner as may render them secure from attempts, of the like nature with that which lately happened at Stratford in that state.

It does not appear that they were protected by a military escort, before June 20th, 1781, and on that day it was "*Resolved*, That the postmaster-general be directed immediately to employ a post-rider in

the room of him, who was lately taken by the enemy between Fish kill and Morristown, and to apply to the board of war for an escort, on that part of the way, where the riders are exposed to be interrupted by the enemy."

Before you have followed me thus far, your patience will probably be exhausted.

No branch of the public service has increased more rapidly than the post office department; and although it cannot boast of victories won by its own power, it is connected with the defences, and the best interests of the country. It was established to disseminate intelligence, and it has fully answered, in war and in peace, the object of its creation. Every individual in this extensive country is benefited by it, and interested in its prosperity.

I will give to you some further account of its rise and progress, if time, business, and health permit.

Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

E. Whittlesey

Jno. S. Williams, Esqr.

—

To the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey.

Dear Sir:—You will gratify us more than we can conveniently express, if you will write for the American Pioneer, on all convenient occasions, and allow us the privilege of telling you in all candor, when "our patience becomes exhausted." This we promise to do most punctually, as well as of the first complaint our patrons make either of the frequency or length of your inestimable contributions. Nothing can more clearly show the rapid rise and improvement of America, than a knowledge of the growth or increase of the post office facilities, and nothing will tend more to infuse a love of our country and institutions in the minds of the citizens, than a just contemplation of the blessings received through, in and under them. Placed where you are, we are inclined to believe that, to that country, in the behalf of which your industry has been long exerted, you owe (to you no doubt) the pleasing duty of setting that and other historical and statistical subjects, in a conspicuous light before the public.

For favors past, and in anticipation of more to come, please to accept a remembrance—the kind regards of yours, truely,

Jno. S. Williams

Chillicothe, O. August 1st, 1842.



MONUMENTAL CHURCH, AT RICHMOND.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1842. NO. XI.

MONUMENTAL CHURCH AT RICHMOND.

The Monumental Church, at Richmond, was erected in 1813, on the spot where the theatre stood. It was dedicated on the 4th of May, 1814. The Rev. W. H. Wilder delivered the dedication sermon. It is an elegant edifice of an octagon form. The steeple, on the northeasterly side, is one hundred and thirty feet high. On the northwesterly side of the church, and adjoining it, is the monument, the foundation of which occupies thirty-six feet square, within the walls of which is engraved the following inscription:—

"In memory of the awful calamity, that by the providence of God, fell on this city, on the night of the 26th of December, in the year of Christ, 1811; when by the sudden and dreadful conflagration of the Richmond theatre, many citizens, of different ages, and of both sexes, distinguished for talents and for virtues, respected and beloved, perished in the flames; and, in one short moment public joy and private happiness were changed into universal lamentation; this monument is erected, and the adjoining church dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, that, in all future times, the remembrance of this mournful event, on the spot where it happened, and where the remains of the sufferers are deposited, in one urn, may be united with acts of penitence and devotion."

The perspective view of the Monumental Church, from which the engraving presented in this number of the Magazine is taken, was drawn by William Strickland, F. S. A. Isaac Sturtevant, of Boston, was the master builder.

An account of the burning of the Richmond Theatre, will not, we trust, be considered out of place. It is compiled from the Rev. Timothy Alden's collection of American epitaphs and inscriptions, a rare and valuable work.

On Thursday night, the 26th of December, 1811, it appears that the theatre, on Shockoe hill, in Richmond, was attended by an unusual number of people. The pantomime, entitled *Agnes and Raymond, or the Bleeding Nun*, was to have closed the amusements of the evening. This had been translated for the occasion by Mr. Girardin; and many, who had seldom repaired to this place of recreation, now attended in order to witness its performance, principally through civility to their fellow-citizen. In the first act of this afterpiece, one of the scenes exhibited the cottage of a robber, which was illuminated by a chandelier. When the curtain fell on the close of the first act, and before it rose for the second, this chandelier was raised aloft among

the oil-painted scenery. By a fatal inattention, the lamp was not extinguished! The fire instantly caught, spread with rapidity, and, in less than five minutes, the whole roof, as well as the suspended combustible materials, was in a blaze. "It burst through the bull's eye in front; it sought the windows where the rarified vapor sought its passage, fed by the vast column of air in the hollows of the theatre, fed by the inflammable panels and pillars of the boxes, by the dome of the pit, by the canvas ceiling of the lower boxes, until its suffocated victims in the front were wrapped in its devouring flame, or pressed to death under the smoking ruins of the building."

The imagination may better paint, than the pen of the writer describe, the unutterable anguish of the gay assembly. In one moment, hilarity and joy were exchanged for the most agonizing sorrow and distress, and a multitude of precious and immortal souls, at a time they little expected, was plunged into the world of spirits. Shrieks, groans, agony, and death, in its most terrific form, closed the tragic scene!

The following is a list of the unhappy victims to this dreadful calamity, taken from the Gazettes published at the time, and corrected by the writer of this article in May, 1814, from verbal information received of sundry people at Richmond:—

From Jefferson ward, his excellency, George W. Smith, governor of Virginia, Miss Sophia Tourin, Miss Cecilia Tourin, sisters, Joseph Jacobs and his daughter, Miss Elizabeth Jacobs, Cyprian Marks, Mrs. Marks, the wife of Mordecai Marks, Miss Charlotte Raphael, daughter of Solomon Raphael, Miss Adeline Bausman, Miss Ann Craig, Mr. Nuttal, a carpenter, Pleasant, a mulatto woman, and Nancy Peterson, a woman of color.

From Madison ward, Abraham B. Venable, Esq., president of the Virginia bank, William Southgate, son of Wright Southgate, Benjamin Botts, Esq., an eminent attorney, and his wife, Miss Arianna Hunter, Miss Mary Whitlock, Miss Juliana Harvie, Mrs. Sarah Heron, Mrs. Girardin and her child, Mrs. Robert Greenhow, Mrs. Moss, child of Baruch Judah, Mrs. Lesslie, Edward Wanton, a youth, George Dixon, a youth, William Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth Pattison, John Welch, a stranger, lately from England, nephew of Sir A. Pigott, Miss Margaret Copland, Miss Margaret Anderson, Miss Sarah Gatewood, Miss Mary Clay, whose father was then a member of congress, Miss Louisa Mayo, an orphan, Mrs. Gerard, Mrs. Eleanor Gibbons, Miss Ann Green, Mary Davis, Thomas Frazier, a youth, Jane Wade, a young woman, Mrs. William Cook and her daughter, Miss Elizabeth Stevenson, Mrs. Convert and her child, Martha Griffin, Miss Lucy Gawthmey, Fanny Goff, a woman of color, Betsey Johnson, a free woman of color, and Philadelphia, a man of color.

From Monroe ward, Mrs. Taylor Braxton, Mrs. Elizabeth Page, Mrs. Jerrod, James Waldon, Miss Elliot, of New Kent, Mrs. Joseph Gallego, Miss Sarah Conyers, James Gibbon, Esq., lieutenant in the Navy of the United States, Mrs. Thomas Wilson, Miss Maria Nelson, Miss Mary Page, Mrs. Laforest, and Mr. Almarine Marshall, of Wythe county.

To the foregoing, these are also to be added:—Miss Elvira Coutts,

Mrs. Pickit, Miss Littlepage, Jean Baptiste Rozier, Thomas Lecroix, and Robert Ferrill, a mulatto boy.

Many, who escaped with their lives, were much scorched in the flames, some were killed and others were greatly injured by throwing themselves from the windows, or by being trampled under foot in the attempt to escape with the crowd. Mrs. John Bosher, and Edward James Harvey, Esq., expired soon after the dreadful catastrophe. Some are cripples, a considerable number has dropped into the grave, and others languished under the weight of disease, in consequence of injury sustained at the time of the melancholy conflagration. Am. Mag.

Mount Carmel, Illinois, May 30, 1842.

Mr. J. S. Williams,

Dear Sir—Your letter of the 17th, to major Armstrong, was placed in my hands some days ago. The brief remarks and *hints* given you are correct. I have a vast quantity of western matter, collected in *notes* gathered from various sources, mostly from persons who knew the *facts*. These *notes* reach back to remote periods. It is a *fact* that the *Welsh*, under *Owen ap Zuinch*, in the 12th century, found their way to the Mississippi, and as far up the Ohio as the falls of that river at Louisville, where they were cut off by the Indians; others ascended the Missouri, were either captured, or settled with and sunk into Indian habits. *Proof:* In 1799, six soldiers' skeletons were dug up near Jeffersonville; each skeleton had a breast-plate of brass, cast, with the Welsh *coat of arms*, the MERMAID and HARP, with a Latin inscription, *in substance* "virtuous deeds meet their just reward." One of these plates was left by captain Jonathan Taylor, with the late Mr. Hubbard Taylor, of Clarke county, Kentucky, and when called for by me, in 1814, for the late doctor John P. Campbell, of Chillicothe, Ohio, who was preparing notes of the antiquities of the West, by a letter from Hubbard Taylor, Jr., (a relation of mine,) now living, I was informed that the breast-plate had been taken to Virginia, by a gentleman of that state, I supposed as a matter of curiosity. *Proof 2d:* The late William McIntosh, who first settled near this, and had been for fifty or sixty years prior to his death, in 1831 or 2, a western Indian trader, was in fort Kaskaskia, prior to its being taken by general George Rogers Clarke, in 1778, and heard, as he informed me himself, a Welshman and an Indian from far up the Missouri, speaking and conversing in the Welsh language. It was stated by Gilbert Imlay, in his History of the West, that it was captain Abraham Choplin, of Union county, Kentucky, that *heard* this conversation in *Welsh*. Doctor Campbell visited Choplin, and found it was not *him;* afterwards the *fact* was stated by McIntosh, from whom I

obtained other facts as to western matters. Some hunter, many years ago, informed me of a tomb-stone being found in the southern part of Indiana, with initials of a name, and 1186 engraved on it. The *Mohawk* Indians had a tradition among them, respecting the *Welsh*, and of their having been cut off by the Indians, at the falls of the Ohio. The late colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, who had for many years sought for information on this subject, mentions this *fact*, and of the Welshmen's bones being found buried on *Corn Island;* so that Southey, the king's *laureat*, had some foundation for his Welsh poem!

As to *Logan*, the Mingo Indian chief, the *facts*, as stated by me, were not only obtained from Mr. Jacob W. Davis, of Bartholomew county, Indiana, then residing (1831) near Columbus, but from various other sources, during the last thirty or forty years. I never like to *rest* any statement of mine on mere *report*. I sifted every statement to the bottom. I had become wearied with hearing contradictory statements; anecdotes related of Wayne's officers or soldiers, I have frequently heard applied to those of the last *war*, by young men who knew no better. As to Mr. D., I know not whether he is living. As to Tecumseh, or *Tecumsekeh*, the Shawnee chief, in 1821, in Ohio county, Kentucky, I fell in with the reverend Benjamin Kelly, a Baptist preacher, who was taken prisoner, with colonel Daniel Boone, while making salt, at the Blue-licks of Kentucky, in 1779; the Indians took them to a salt spring, six or eight miles south east of Chillicothe, (now Ross county,) and set them to work making salt from a *secret* spring, cut through a rock, and fitted in to hide it with a round flat stone. The Indians having attacked a fort, in Greenbrier county, Virginia, were defeated; on coming to this spring, the salt makers joined them to go home, (at Oldtown, three miles from Xenia.) Boone, thinking that this defeated army intended attacking Boonsborough, on their way he deserted, somewhere near Washington, in Fayette county, and got to Boonsborough the second day! What a race! nobody can do it now. This *fact corrects* the history of Kentucky. Kelly was five years in Blackfish's family, with *Lal-luze-steeka*, the prophet, and *Tekumtha*, (as the Shakers in 1807 wrote their names,) sons of Blackfish. I published Mr. Kelly's statement, in a Cincinnati paper, in 1824 or 5, and it went the rounds of the papers; also a story of Tecumseh, related to me by captain Thomas Bryan, who fell in with Blackfish and his family, in 1788, while surveying, on Ohio Brushcreek, and saved them (by killing two elks and a bear) from starvation. On this occasion, Blackfish put up a prayer and thanksgiving in his camp, which melted Bryan's men into tenderness and to tears!

Reverend Henry Frost got hold of Dr. John P. Campbell's manuscripts, "Western Antiquities," and published them in Philadelphia. General Samuel Finley arrested the sale of the work, for the *doctor's* widow. I had furnished Dr. Campbell with the most important facts, but Mr. *Frost* gave me no *credit* in his book. Doctor Campbell died about 1816. My notes are scattered through eight or ten or more volumes, and as I am about arranging them under the head of "Western Researches," at the request of my friends of the cities, when so arranged I can then draw off for you what may best suit your excellent work, "The Pioneer," which I think does great credit to the *West*.

But I regret that in this age of improvement, writers delight in hunting up hard dictionary *phrases*, to express their ideas. The standard of plain language is our president's messages. I knew an editor, somewhere in Ohio, who was thought to be a great man. He had a strange title for his paper, and his sheets of editorial matter were filled with new coined words. I was frequently asked their meaning, and could not tell; even a learned judge of your supreme court asked the meaning of the title to his paper, which I could not at that time explain; but afterwards I found in his office a *dictionary of jaw-crackers*, of new coined words, *Greek*, *Latin*, and phrases not used by English readers,—and the mystery was solved! I never saw the book before, nor since. A popular work must come down to plain English, so that all may know what we mean. Believing this to be the course you are aiming at, permit me, my dear sir, to say, that I wish you a successful operation on your plan.

Yours, very respectfully,

Th. S. Hinde

GENERAL ORDERS.

The second brigade of militia, composed of the counties of Butler and Warren, is arranged into battalions and regiments, as follows:

FIRST REGIMENT.

First Battalion—*Butler county.*

Captain James Blackburn,
William Smith,
Joseph Cox,
John Wingate.

Second Battalion.

Captain James M'Clure,
Michael Auld,
Robert Sigerson.

No return from a company election received.

SECOND REGIMENT.

First Battalion—*Warren county.*

Captain William Mason's company.
Benjamin Stites', Jr. do.
James Beedle's do.
James Maranda's do.

Second Battalion.

Captain William Bone's company.
Joseph Dill's do.
Charles Wolverton's do.
Samuel M'Cray's do.

THIRD REGIMENT.
First Battalion—*Butler county.*
Captain William Blackburn,
William Morris.
A comp'y not returned the election for officers.
Captain John Hamilton.
Second Battalion.
Captain Samuel Beeler,
Daniel Griffing,
John Sample,
Moses Vail.

FOURTH REGIMENT.
First Battalion—*Warren county.*
Captain Aaron Reeder's company.
John C. Death's do.
James M'Donald's do.
James Kelley's do.
Second Battalion.
Captain Abiah Martin,
John Martindalls,
Joseph Hayes,
Aaron Sewell.

The commissioned officers in the second brigade, in the first division of militia, in the state of Ohio, are hereby ordered to meet in their battalions, on Saturday, the 14th day of July next, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and elect a major in each, as the law directs.

The commissioned officers in the first battalion, in the first regiment, to meet at the house of John Torrence, in the town of Hamilton.

The commissioned officers in the second battalion, in the first regiment, to meet at the house of captain James M'Clure, and elect a major for the said battalion.

The commissioned officers in the first battalion, in the third regiment, to meet at Rossville, opposite the town of Hamilton, and elect one major for said battalion.

The commissioned officers in the second battalion, in the third regiment, to meet at the house of captain Daniel Griffing, and elect one major for said battalion.

The four last mentioned battalions lie in the county of Butler, and as no returns have been received from two of the company districts, agreeably to a former order; I do hereby enjoin it upon the inhabitants of the said districts, to make returns without delay.

The commissioned officers in the first battalion and second regiment, are to meet at the house of David Sutton, in Deerfield, and elect a major for said battalion.

The commissioned officers of the second battalion, in the second regiment, to meet at the house of Ephraim Hathaway, and elect a major for said battalion.

The commissioned officers in the first battalion and fourth regiment, to meet at the house of doctor Reeder, in Franklin, and elect a major for said battalion.

The commissioned officers of the second battalion in the fourth regiment, to meet at the house of Thomas Gooding, in the town of Waynesville, and elect a major for said battalion. Returns to be made to me, agreeable to law.

The commissions for the company officers are received by me, and if not called for previous to the time of the election hereby ordered, they will be forwarded to the clerks of the counties of Butler and Warren, where they may be had on application. In the case where two persons had an equal number of votes for ensign, in captain Wingate's company, it is recommended that they decide by voluntary draft, in presence of the captain, which shall hold it; if they do not agree to that mode, a new election for ensign will be ordered: a strict compliance with this order is expected. JOHN S. GANO,

Major general, commanding the 1st division militia, in the state of Ohio.

A true copy of the general order.

William Ruffin, *Aid-de-camp.*

Mr. JOHN M'CADDON'S LETTER.

The editor of the American Pioneer has been long acquainted with the writer of the following letter, and knows him to be a man of sterling integrity. His letter fixes the commencement of operations at Cincinnati. It also gives other important information. We hope to get more from him.

—

Newark, Ohio, May 16th, 1842.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams.

Dear Sir—I am on the advanced side of eighty-five years of age. It may therefore be supposed that I was old enough to remember well, many interesting incidents in the earliest part of our revolution. It is true I can relate many, and one of which I will now relate, being personally engaged in it.

Having heard great accounts of the famous land of Kentucky, I determined to possess myself of a small piece of it. Early in the spring of 1780, being then twenty-three years of age, I descended the Ohio. During my stay in that devoted country, the Indians were extremely troublesome. The settlers were cooped up in small stockade forts all over the country. Being thus harassed, the people determined to make an effort to chastise the enemy; and accordingly placed themselves, myself among them, under the command of colonel George Rogers Clark, who at that time was almost the idol of Kentuckians. We started from the falls, now Louisville. On our way up the river to where Cincinnati now stands, captain Hugh M'Gary, a famous Indian hunter, had placed himself on the Indian side of the river, frequently boasting that they lived better than we did, for they kept their hunters out to procure meat. The main body kept the Kentucky shore. One day, when the main body stopped for dinner, M'Gary's men as usual halted op osite to us. When we were ready to march, they concluded to cross over to our side, as they discovered fresh Indian tracks. They had got but a few yards from the shore, when they were fired upon from the top of the bank. They seemed to have no alternative but to jump out and mix with the Indians as they ran down the bank. Colonel Clark's barge was instantly unloaded and filled with men; but before they got across, they heard the Indians give the scalp haloo on the top of the river hill. I have made this digression to relate what in this instance was the end of fool hardiness, often mistaken for true bravery, but in fact very little allied to it.

At the place where Cincinnati now is, it was necessary to build a block-house, for the purpose of leaving some stores and some wounded men we got of M'Gary's company. I may therefore say, that

although I did not cut a tree, or lift a log, I helped to build the first house ever built on that ground, for I was at my post in guarding the artificers who did the labor of building.

When this was done, we penetrated into the interior in search of Indians. When we arrived at Chillicothe, on the head of the Little Miami, we found it burned by the Indians. We next arrived at Pickaway, on Mad river. Here they gave us battle; but they were forced to fly. After cutting down their corn, which was then in roasting ear, and on which we subsisted while there, and burning their town, we made the best of our way home. We however were not so fortunate as to reach Kentucky without the loss of a few more men.

After the close of the revolutionary war, in 1783, the Indians continued to murder our women and children along the frontiers. Although a definitive treaty of peace had been made, the English government still continued to encourage the savages, by paying them for the scalps of our people. It might be asked if in this way they were not more savage, and greater murderers than the Indians?

The American government ordered a few hundred men to march out and chastise the Indians. These were mostly or entirely drafted. I lived then in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and was one, but hired a substitute by the name of Aaron Longstreet, a very active young man. When they arrived at the Sandusky plains, they were met by the Indians, with whom they skirmished and fought for several days. The Indian forces increased every day, until our men were overpowered and surrounded. There was left to them no alternative but to force their way through the enemy. They placed themselves in solid column, the horsemen foremost. Mr. Longstreet caught hold of one of the horse's tails, and scampered unhurt through the fire. After much fatigue and starvation he reached home in safety. I could relate many more incidents, but perhaps it would be superfluous.

John McCadden

PATIENT PERSEVERANCE,

The Way to Become Useful.

Mr. Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

The introduction of the surveyor-generalship of general Rufus Putnam, in one of the numbers of the "Pioneer," brought to my recollec-

tion an official incident with that gentleman, which was related to me by one of the parties.

When orders were given by the government to the surveyor-general of the north-western territory, to have a portion of the public lands therein surveyed, and subdivided into sections, many applications were made by persons, for the situation of deputies. Among the number was a young man from the extreme western part of Pennsylvania, who had, without pecuniary means or the facility of instruction, but by his own application and industry during the recess from labor, acquired a knowledge of surveying. Clad in a hunting-shirt and moccasins, the usual habiliments of the *backwoodsman* of the day, he presented himself personally to general Putnam, at Marietta, and made known his desire to have a district to run out. The general replied that there were so many applications, he was afraid he could not gratify him, and that he could give no decisive answer for some time. "Sir," said the applicant, "I have come a considerable distance and am dependant altogether upon my own exertions for my support,—have you any work for me to do, by which I can gain a support until you can give me an answer." "Yes," answered the general, "I have some wood to cut." "Sir, I can *swing an axe* as well as set a compass;" and doffing his hunting-shirt, went at it with full vigor, the general occasionally stepping out to see how he progressed. The job was completed.

"Sir," again said the applicant, "have you any drafting or platting in your office that I can assist you with?" "Yes," said the general, "I can give you some of that to do." In due time the plat was completed and handed to the general, who examined it carefully, and with apparent surprise, alternately looking at the plat and the applicant—thus responding: "Young man, you may go home; you shall have the district you desired: and so soon as the necessary instructions are made out, I will forward them;" which was complied with, and so satisfactorily executed to the department, by the young surveyor, that at a subsequent progression of surveys, three districts were awarded to him by general Mansfield, the successor of Putnam.

The young man thus represented as presenting himself, was the late John Bever, Esq., formerly of Georgetown, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, and who has stated to the writer of this article, that that incident was probably the foundation of the ample fortune, acquired in after-life, and possessed at the time of his death in 1836.

First Paper-Mill in Ohio.—The first paper-mill in Ohio, and the second west of the mountains, was erected in 1805—6, on Little Beaver creek, near its junction with the Ohio river, in Columbiana

county, and just within the state. It was called the "Ohio Paper-mill." The proprietors were John Bever, Esq. of Georgetown, my father, and John Coulter. In a few years the former purchased out the latter. It is now my property, being the representative of the original proprietors.

Nails.—My father established the first nail factory west of the mountains, at Brownsville, Pa. Those made were of the kind known as wrought nails; the manner of making cut nails was not then known. The workmen were brought from Hagerstown, Md; and two of these workmen, George and Charles Michael, we believe, are now residing in Ross county, Ohio.

I have given you in this sheet, some small "affairs:" if worthy of your periodical, give them a place. It is my intention (Deo volenti) to give you something about "Redstone's old fort hereafter"—that is, so soon as leisure will permit. I could say something about the first window-glass factory west of the mountains, which was established at New Geneva, in this county, by Albert Gallatin and others; but your valuable Marietta correspondent could obtain from George Rippart, one of the original proprietors, who now resides below Marietta, on the river, a more satisfactory detail. He is an intelligent German, and would take delight in giving a detail of the whole events of that establishment.

Very respectfully yours,

J. L. Bowman

Brownsville, July 30th, 1842.

The above valuable communication is from an intimate and worthy acquaintance of ours, and we trust he will excuse us for giving his name, when he intended, in his characteristic modesty, to conceal it. To give the real signature of a contributor, is the nearest we can do towards introduceing the very man himself to our readers. It is truly gratifying to us, to be able thus to introduce many pioneers.

Our correspondent is a son of Jacob Bowman, Esq., who was an early pioneer, and long a wealthy and respectable citizen of Brownsville, Pa. He held the office of postmaster *there* for many years, and was president of the Brownsville Bank of Pa. from its commencement. We know that our friend Jas. L. can, from his personal and collected knowledge, and from notes of his father, treat the readers of the Pioneer with a rare feast. We trust he will do so. Will Dr. Hildreth please attend to the Glass-house history?

THE BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT.

Evan and Isaac Shelby.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir:—I have to notice briefly the remarks of your worthy correspondents, the indefatigable Dr. Hildreth, and the veteran colonel Sharp, with reference to Evan and Isaac Shelby, at the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10th, 1774. The Doctor states that "Isaac Shelby, afterwards governor of Kentucky, commanded a company in that battle;" while colonel Sharp, with the design of correcting the supposed "mistake," says, "the captain Shelby, who fought so bravely in that battle, was Evan Shelby, the governor's father." With the belief that I possess a knowledge of the facts in the case, I will venture so far to presume upon your kindness as to state, that both doctor Hildreth and colonel Sharp, are in the main correct.

Evan Shelby, who subsequently rose to the rank of brigadier-general, resided at that time, as did his son Isaac, in what is now Sullivan county, in East Tennessee. A company of bold and fearless frontier-men was raised in that region, for the campaign of 1774, of which Evan Shelby was the captain, and Isaac the lieutenant. This company and that of captain William Russell, were the only companies of colonel William Christian's regiment engaged in the action, the main body of the regiment being on its march and not reaching 'the Point' till about midnight after the battle.

The troops at Point Pleasant consisted of about eleven hundred men, in three regiments, under the chief command of general Andrew Lewis. His brother Charles commanded one of these regiments, doctor William Fleming, the brother-in-law of colonel Christian, another, and colonel John Field the other. They had reached this place of rendezvous on Thursday, the 6th of October, and were awaiting the arrival of governor Dunmore and his troops, to the number of about twelve hundred, raised east of the Blue Ridge. General Lewis was not apprehensive of danger, and his careless security well nigh caused his surprise. About half an hour before sun-rise on Monday morning, October 10th, two of captain Russell's men discovered the enemy about a mile from camp. One of these men was killed, the other effected his escape and brought in the intelligence. But two or three minutes elapsed before two of captain Shelby's company, James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, who had gone out hunting before day, came in and corroborated the account. To digress a little, this same James Robertson afterwards rose to the rank of general, and distin-

guished himself as one of the boldest pioneers and Indian fighters of Tennessee; and major Sevier, a brother of general John Sevier, gallantly fought at King's Mountain, served under Marion in South Carolina, and played well his part in many a battle with the bravest warriors of the Cherokee nation.

General Lewis, who had served under Braddock and Washington, in the old French war, was not in the least discomposed by the intelligence of the near approach of the enemy. Having first lit his pipe, he ordered colonel Charles Lewis, and colonel Fleming, to whose regiment the companies of captains Shelby and Russell were attached, to march and reconnoitre the ground where the enemy had been seen. In a few minutes the action became general. Colonel Charles Lewis was mortally wounded early in the engagement, and colonel Fleming shortly after received three wounds, one through his breast, and had to be taken from the field. At this critical period, when some of the troops began to give way, colonel Field, with his regiment, came gallantly into the action, and about noon this intrepid and lamented officer was shot dead. Captain Evan Shelby was now ordered to take the command; and, of course, Isaac Shelby, the lieutenant, succeeded to the command of his father's company. The fury of the battle somewhat abated about one o'clock, though it continued obstinately enough till near night, when Isaac Shelby, George Matthews, and John Stewart, were ordered to ascend Crooked creek, a small tributary of the Kenhawa, a short distance above its mouth, and under its bushy banks to gain the rear of the enemy; which movement, together with the rapid approach of night, induced the Indians to retreat, which, under cover of the darkness, they easily and safely effected.

It has always appeared to me, that no engagement with the Indians was ever more hotly contested, than the remarkable battle of Point Pleasant. It was emphatically a western battle, fought by western men, for all of general Lewis' troops were raised west of the Blue Ridge. I have attempted to narrate only those particulars connected with the engagement, as would explain satisfactorily the part taken in it by general Evan and colonel Isaac Shelby.

I am indebted chiefly for my information, to two original letters in my possession; one written at "the mouth of the Great Canaway, October the 16th, 1774," by Isaac Shelby himself, and the other by colonel William Preston, under date October the 31st, 1774." It should be added, that colonel Preston was not himself in the battle, but wrote from intelligence received in letters, from "colonel Christian and other gentlemen on the expedition."

Taking a lively interest in the success of your sterling magazine,

and wishing to aid you in your praiseworthy endeavors to elucidate "the truth and justice of history," I have ventured to offer you this explanation of an apparent historical discrepancy, which I flatter myself will not prove entirely unacceptable. I am sure no one can feel more grateful to you for your untiring labors of love, than

Yours most sincerely,

Lyman C. Draper

FOREST HOME, near Pantoloc, Miss.

The above letter speaks for itself, and needs no commendation from us. It shows conclusively one of the prominent uses of the American Pioneer. Let us suppose for a moment, that doctor Hildreth or colonel Sharp were to write a history of western Virginia. Is it not easy to see that neither, without the documents referred to by Mr. Draper, would have been strictly correct, and without the Pioneer, how would either of them, at the distance of one or two thousand miles, have found Mr. Draper? The way that the venerable pioneers will greet each other, and talk of olden times in the Pioneer, in the course of two or three years, we think will be interesting.

Mr. Draper has been "long engaged in collecting Pioneer sketches, intending eventually to throw them into book-form." If there is any way that we can aid him in his enterprise through the American Pioneer, we will do it. Let the truth of history be written, and nothing but the truth under the name of history. We presume this is his praiseworthy object.

REMINISCENSES OF OLDEN TIME.

AFTER the destruction of tea in Boston harbor, the use of it was interdicted by the common consent of the country; this was a severe trial for the daughters of mother Eve, for they delighted to sip of the delicious beverage, but it must be done in secret. When good Bohea could not be used openly, a vegetable was used as a substitute, gathered and sold in Springfield at one dollar and fifty cents per pound. My father had erected a spacious house with a basement story, in which was a suitable fire-place, where the tea-kettle could be boiled, and here the good matrons thought they might take their real Bohea, when the men were absent.

Like other children fond of sweet things, after our mothers had regaled themselves, we, the children, were permitted to come around the table for a share of the good things; and in order to secure the sugar, in *simplicity* asked for tea, but were instantly reminded to ask for *coffee*.

A neighbor, full of love of country, was to be from home; and his wife invited a party of matrons to spend the afternoon, and ——— as the good man would be absent; but he returned while the table was setting and loading with the good things of the house, having no doubt that the tea-pots contained the forbidden beverage. In the ardor of patriotic feelings, he placed his foot beneath the table, and upset the whole upon the floor,—in those days floor-rags or carpets were not used and would have been called tory extravagance. He passed out at another door, without saying a word, nor giving his better half time to say "husband, how could you do so?" The visitors were left staring at each other for a moment, and gathering up their knitting aparatus, made tracks for home, and left the good woman to settle the difficulty with her husband, with or without a curtain lecture, as she might think best.

When Arnold was selected to march upon Canada, through a dense forest in mid-winter, it became necessary to procure specie, which was of all things most scarce and difficult to get in exchange for our paper currency. However, it must be had; among other places Springfield was visited, and there was found one, my grand-father, who had too much patriotism to resist the application. He and my father were large dealers in beef-cattle, and in their stable was fatted the *big ox*, which was roasted whole on Boston common, after having passed through the principal streets, decorated in the most fanciful manner with ribands, &c., and after being roasted and carved, was distributed among the poor and spectators; but the Hancocks and other choice spirits, might be served with the choice bits first, or in common with their fellow-citizens.

My father was the principal operative on the farm, and my grand-father was purser, and kept the precious metals in an *oaken* chest at the foot of his bed, which served as his safety-chest. At the time alluded to, he was in cash, and counted out *one thousand silver dollars*, or its equivalent, in British gold, and replaced it with the same number of paper dollars, which promised on the face thereof, to be redeemed in *gold and silver*, printed in large *capitals*. With this money the stalls were to be replenished; but this currency began to depreciate, and my parents had been taught from their youth up, to consider a dollar worth neither less nor more than six shillings, lawful money; and not willing to suffer any discount thereon, permitted the whole to die in the old chest.

Previous to Shays' rebellion, one Samuel Ely, a preacher, for some offence against the peace or good name of the commonwealth, was sentenced and confined in Springfield jail.

It so happened on a day, that the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Long-Meadow, four miles from Springfield, was buried; thus the town was almost emptied of men. On this day a large number of mounted partizans came to Springfield to effect a "jail-delivery." Intelligence of this visit having been received, a number of young men, school-boys and clerks, were hastily collected under captain Thomas Dwight, and paraded on the opposite side of the street, in front of the jail. The invading party, armed "*cap a pie*," rode up and halted almost in contact with captain Dwight's boys; a few men dismounted, and with implements, rushed into the house to the door of the jail, which soon gave way, and Ely was shown to his co-zealots, mounted a spare horse, was presented with a gallon-bottle, which he received without the usual ceremony of "I pledge you," wiped the bung-hole with the palm of his hand, raised it to his mouth and took a hearty swig of ———Returning the bottle, the word was given, "right about face," move, and away they went, trotting and pacing with a quick-step, northward, and we, the town-boys, were dismissed to go home and do the chores.

At the time of disbanding the American army, money was scarce, the country deeply in debt, and Daniel Shays, among others, was owing debts which he could not pay, nor get an equivalent for his services in the army; and discontent was prevailing all over the country. Complaints were unavailing. In Massachusetts, called the cradle of liberty, a formidable number had selected Daniel Shays to present their grievances for redress, which, if it could not be done peaceably, then "*vi et armis.*" The latter alternative was adopted. But previous to Shays appearing at the head of an armed mob, so called, an attempt was made to *stop the courts of justice.* A court was to be held at Springfield; a few warm partizans had assembled about the court-house, in plain sight of the old brick school-house, where I attended school, and from my window saw all that was going on. Mr. sheriff Porter, with his insignia of office and side-arms, preceded the judges; and when the sheriff came to the door-steps, which had been taken possession of by the mobility, he sung out at the top of his voice, "*clear the way for the court;*" but the party in possession did not budge an inch, until the sheriff drew forth his glittering sword, and made several bold and cutting thrusts upon the naked air. At this moment a young man full of zeal stepped forward, seized the leader by the collar, drew him forth—the others gave way, the court entered, opened and closed in due form, "*O yes!*"—the two persons clenched each other "*rough and tumble*" and both rolled into the brook, which passed under the court-house. I had looked on with

intense interest, but could no longer resist the impulse, but sung out "*master, they are at it,*" detaching my hat from the peg, without leave or license, rushed out of the school to see the whole fun and mingle with the crowd. The master and whole posse of urchins soon followed.

Matters were fast hastening for rebellion, and daily becoming more serious and alarming. A large party were collecting under a leader, *now* captain Shays, with whom it was "*neck or nothing.*"

It had been resolved in solemn sentence, to take possession of the public stores, "peaceably if they could." Shays' party were assembled about half a mile north of the court-house, and the government-party, so called, assembled under captain Joseph Williams, in front of the court-house, and were ordered to load with powder and ball: when ordered to load, one who stood near me turned his cartridge-ball downward and rammed it home.

A compromise took place: Shays and party were permitted to march upon the continental hill, unmolested, with music and colors flying; nominally to take possession of the public ground—do no injury, and in the same peaceable manner to retire.

This momentary victory or ascendency, however, only stimulated the mobocracy to devise ways and means to come into actual possession of the public stores and arsenal; for which purpose, troops were collected and assembled under three leaders, and a certain day and hour to be determined upon by captain Shays, when to meet upon Continental hill. The express conveying the intelligence from captain Shays' head-quarters to captain Parsons, commanding the troops stationed at Chepec northerly, and to captain Luke Day and party, at West Springfield, was intercepted. Parsons was to approach from the north, captain Day from the west, and Shays with the main body from the east. Not knowing that the expresses had been intercepted, Shays, at the time appointed, came in sight of the public buildings and halted, not knowing whether Day and Parsons were in attendance or not. General Shepherd, who commanded the government party, had caused a line of demarkation to be made, and sent intelligence to Shays, that if he passed that line, it would be necessary to defend the public property. The government troops were mostly secreted within and behind the buildings, and on scouting-parties in the bushes; but the field-pieces were stationed in front across the road, with the general's guard formed on the right of the pieces, the general and suite on the left of the pieces, all in plain sight of Shays' advance-guard, consisting, as then said, of about four hundred old continental soldiers, headed by one captain White, with whom I afterwards became personally acquainted, and who was a brave man. I was attached to general Shep-

herd's life-guard, and so situated as to have the whole field of operations in my eye.

Shays, with a number of men mounted, rode forward to the front of his party, and were in conference nearly an hour: they might have been puzzled that no intelligence had been received from Day and Parsons; but he would not now retire without testing the principle of attack and defence. It had been reported, as the opinion of Shays' party, that *Government Puppies*, meaning the cannon, would not dare to open their mouths and *bark*.

My station was in the rear rank, having in front an old continental soldier, who had seen service and was provided with a large pack-blanket and three days' provisions.

Should Shays' party march upon us, it was expected there would be a bloody fight, threats having been made, that before they would give up, the town should be laid in ashes. General Tupper, one of general Shepherd's aids, rode in front of the men stationed on the right of the field-pieces, and told them that if any one chose to leave the ranks, he might do it and retire without incurring disgrace or dishonoring himself.

Only one retired, who complained of the *belly-ache*, and his place was supplied by a youth, who came leaping and jumping towards the ranks. I should myself have been very glad to have been out of harm's way—but stationed as I was, had rather subject myself to the consequences than retire, although I did not expect to return to the walls of Yale College with a whole skin. To encourage me in my resolution, I had a *living* breast-work before me, "the old soldier and his pack," and made my calculations accordingly: that should the opposite party give us a shot, and a bullet pass in the direction where I stood, that the force of the bullet would be checked by the body and pack of my old soldier; thus I stood directly behind him, watching for a chance to be———not hurt.—Bravo! *what a bold soldier was I!*

Soon as Shays and his mounted council began to move again towards the rear, his advance guard, of four hundred old soldiers, under captain White, distinguished by his blue short dress-coat, began their march, eight deep, towards the government-party.

General Shepherd, true to his promise of defending the hill, the pieces being elevated that the balls might pass over or aside of the party approaching, in hopes it might check them, gave orders to *fire*. The two field-pieces were discharged in quick succession, and so unexpectedly to Shays' council-board, that it was said, no less than twenty fell from their horses.

This discharge only hastened the step of the advancing party, and

at the flash of every gun, those in the range of the shot stepped aside into the bushes, and were instantly in place again.

General Shepherd then ordered the pieces to be leveled waist-band high. At this time, the shot would range with a turn in the road, and reach the advancing four hundred about mid-way; at this time also one of the men who had sponged his piece, and supposing that his gun was again discharged, was in the act of sponging again, when the match was applied to the gun and the shot took off both his arms, and I saw his hat fluttering in the air and the blood spouting from his arms. This shot also did execution upon Shays' men, killing two and dangerously wounding another, who died before the next morning; and now the rear began to file off into the bushes out of the range of the cannon-balls, and so rapid was the falling off, that captain White was left quite alone; he stood a moment, casting his eyes upon his own party retreating, and then upon the government troops, with such a disappointed, disdainful and contemptuous look, as I had never before seen. Captain White brought the butt of his gun to rest at his feet, then took to the bushes himself at the top of his speed. The government cavalry were in requisition and desired to pursue the retreating party. General Shepherd refused, but with a proviso, that should Shays return, he would then grant the request. They did not return, but ran with all speed out of reach of the Government Puppies, and filed off upon the road to Ludlow, or they would have encountered the troops of general Lincoln, who came on the next day, to our inexpressible joy, and immediately marched upon West Springfield, which was the first notice that captain Day's party had, the guard stationed at the ferry-place being challenged by Lincoln's troops. Although within a mile, air-line, of the place where the cannon were discharged, never a gun was heard, and no intelligence had reached Day's party of the disaster. The flight was so sudden that Day's men had scarce time to get out of the way, before their encampment was occupied by Lincoln's troops.

General Shepherd's troops, cavalry and artillery, moved upon the ice about one mile and then marched for the street. At the place where we came into the street, there was a small house and barn: one poor fellow, instead of fleeing with the rest, hid himself under the barn, where he was discovered by his legs, which he could not hide, being really a *Long fellow.* He was seized by the legs, drawn back a piece, where he stuck fast; and on one singing out for an axe to cut him apart, he begged for quarters and was spared.

Yours respectfully, David Hubbins

PETITION OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM HUBBLE.

The following petition is worthy a place as matter of history. Its publication is also right in order to do justice to a faithful soldier. Captain Hubble is better known to the West as an Indian fighter. One of the battles he was engaged in, he made the most desperate defense against perhaps the greatest odds ever known, is related in M'Clung's Sketches of Western Adventure, taken from the Western Review, and is worth an attentive perusal.

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To the honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Your memorialist, William Hubble, late one of the soldiers and officers of the Revolutionary war, would respectfully represent the services which he rendered his country in that eventful and glorious struggle for liberty and independence; and the hardships, sufferings and sacrifices which he voluntarily and without a murmur, encountered, in order that your honorable body, (whilst testifying the gratitude and justice of the nation, in dispensing of the national funds to those meritorious bands of patriots) may not be forgetful of the just claims of your petitioner. In recounting the difficult scenes through which he has passed, he may possibly subject himself to the charge of egotism; but a plain and simple narrative of facts becomes indispensably necessary, that the merits of his claim may be fairly and fully considered, waiving that delicacy which on ordinary occasions forbids us to sound our own praise.

On the 20th of April, 1775, he first entered the service as a volunteer in the company commanded by captain David Demman, of the county and town of Fairfield, in the state of Connecticut. On the 17th the British had attacked the militia at Boston whilst engaged in their military exercises, killing some and dispersing them. Our company proceeded for Boston and had reached Harford, where, by express, we halted, to await further orders. After remaining several days we were ordered back. During this time the legislature of the then colony of the state was convened, and provided for raising two brigades for the defense and support of American liberty. Between the 10th and 15th of May, 1775, he enlisted in said company of captain Demman, which was attached to the regiment commanded by colonel Waterbury, of Stanford in said state, to serve till the 1st of January, 1776. The regiment rendezvoused at Stanford, where I was appointed a sergeant in the company. The regiment, including men and officers, was one thousand strong, and was ordered to New York, where we lay until the latter end of June. From thence we

were ordered to Albany, and from thence to Fort Edward up the North river, and on to Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain.

As soon as the army collected at Ticonderoga they marched, under command of general Schuyler to the Eiles Ox Nox, where in consequence of indisposition he left us, and the command of the army destined for the attack and reduction of fort St. John's devolved on the gallant and ever-to-be-remembered general Montgomery. We were marched, as well as I recollect, about the last of September or 1st of October, towards fort St. John's. We encamped about two miles above the fort on the bank of the river in a swamp, and the rain fell upon us from that time until near about the 1st of November, during which time we erected our gun and bomb-batteries within half a mile of the fort. We kept up a continued cannonade of shots and shells upon the fort, until about the 10th of November, when we were compelled to change our ground and encampment, below the fort, in order to relieve ourselves from the miserable situation in which we were placed, the ground being almost overflowed and the mud knee deep. We encountered a deep swamp in changing our ground, but all difficulties vanished before a brave and gallant soldiery.

We then speedily formed a gun-battery of abatis and fascines, and opened an entrenchment from the left bank of the river to the swamp to guard our flanks. At the dawn of day our battery opened upon the fort with twelve, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, and a warm cannonade was continued on both sides until night. The next morning a white flag appeared in the fort and a parley beat on the parapet. A flag was borne to the American army with propositions for a surrender. A capitulation was entered into, which surrendered the fort, ordnance, arms and accoutrements of every description, and the British troops were required to march out and ground their arms. So soon as preparations could be completed, after the surrender of St. John's, and that of Shambles, taken a few days before, our army, nothing daunted by the dangers to be met, or the excessive severity of the weather, moved on towards Montreal between the 16th and 20th of November, encountering a horrid road, sometimes to our knees in mud, and sometimes deeper in the swamp, which was more comfortable than the road. We reached Cole creek without tents or shelter, and we were compelled to occupy two barns on the north side of the creek. And thus wet and muddy we had a most gloomy time. The next day we arrived at Capillary and encamped in the open field, exposed to the falling of a deep snow-storm. On the 10th of December, 1775, we effected a crossing of St. Lawrence to an island near the north bank on the Montreal side of the river, and lay there two or three days

in barns, cow-houses, stables, &c. from whence we crossed to the Montreal side and marched down and surrounded the town. On the next day, the 14th December, 1775, the town surrendered, although strongly fortified with a stone wall from ten to twelve feet thick and twelve feet high. Our time of service having nearly expired, orders reached colonel Samuel Elmore to raise a regiment from the disbanded troops, for one year from the 1st of January, 1776. I then entered into said regiment as ensign in captain Robert Waller's company, and remained there until the 1st of May, 1776, when we were driven back by general Burgoyne's army. On the retreat, each company was ordered to take command of itself and to rendezvous at Albany. Were I to relate the hardships we underwent, and the privations we endured from hunger, nakedness and extreme cold weather, it could scarce gain credence. A furlough was granted our regiment for one month, after we arrived at Albany. I was then two hundred miles from home and had been absent fourteen months without having received one cent of pay. We rendezvoused at Albany agreeably to our furlough, and marched up the Mohawk river to guard the frontiers of New York. In November 1776, we were ordered to relieve colonel Dayton's regiment, then stationed at fort Schuyler, formerly called fort Stanwix, near the head navigation of Mohawk river, where Utica is now situated. In December, 1776, it was announced in the fort (under governmental authority) that all those who should enter the continental army for three years, or during the war, should be entitled to a bounty in land proportioned to their rank. Captain Robert Walker of colonel Elmore's regiment, received an appointment as captain, Samuel Webb as 1st lieutenant, and myself 2nd lieutenant in a company of artillery in the 2nd regiment, commanded by colonel John Lane of New York; and on the 1st day of September, 1777, I received a 1st lieutenant's commission in 1st company. I continued in said regiment till the 1st of June, 1780, when I was taken sick and for the first time was unable to do duty. Thus I continued until the middle of September following, after which, with great difficulty, I reached the main army, lying at Tappan in the state of New York. Finding myself relapsing and unable to attend to the duties of the office I held, according to advice of friends, I resigned my commission on the 1st of October, 1780, and retired. This step was considered necessary to preserve my life from the disease which then preyed upon me. From the 20th April, 1775, to the 1st of October, 1780, I was in the service of my country, and went through perils and sufferings which no language can adequately pourtray. I have never received any pay except in continental money, and I provided myself with arms and clothing. I have never received land or other bounty from the government, as other officers have.

Your memorialist is now nearly 72 years of age and borne down by infirmity, incapable of laboring, and having but a moderate property. Having spent six years of the prime of his life in active, important and perilous service in achieving the liberty which we now enjoy; having failed to reap any reward, but that of having assisted in the most splendid achievement that has ever been recorded in modern or ancient times, your memorialist feels that there is something of a substantial kind due for such signal blessings as have flowed from the effects of those gallant patriots who planted the tree of liberty with their own hands and watered it with their blood. He has seen some of the revolutionary heroes receiving pensions to alleviate their poor condition and to heal their wounds. He has seen another class receive lands, others half pay or commutation. Within a few years past your petitioner presented a claim for land, but for some cause unknown it failed. The government is now rich in lands, in money, in commerce, in resources and in blessings.

Your petitioner cannot believe that his request can be rejected by an American congress, when properly understood. He supposes that land or money will be granted him in due proportion as others have received of the nation's bounty. Your petitioner has not yet complained. As his patriotism buoyed him above murmuring for six long years of hard service for his country; he trusts that no complaint will be heard from him, even should that country prove ungrateful. His dying prayers will be offered up for his country's happiness and prosperity. Your petitioner will conclude by expressing the hope, that as he encountered and braved the heat, the perils, the sufferings and hardships of the war, his claims will receive the same consideration as those who served to its close, where little or nothing remained to be accomplished. [Signed.]



COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, *Scott County, ss.*

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices of the peace for said county, captain Daniel Gano, a man of truth, and made oath that he knew the within memorialist in the continental army, and were officers together in the same regiment of artillery, and were also in the same army under general Montgomery in Canada, and that the facts stated are correct. [Signed.] STEVENSON HISE.

DANIEL GANO.

January 8th, 1827.

The following lines, written at Fort Greenville, July 4th, 1795, on the prospect of peace with the Indian tribes north west of the Ohio, were handed to us by William Y. Strong, Esq., of Chillicothe. They were written by his father, doctor Joseph Strong, then a youthful soldier and surgeon, in Wayne's legion. The reader will be many times paid for the time and labor of an attentive perusal.

—

ODE TO PEACE.

From blood-stained fields, where ravening war
Drove wildly round the crimsoned car,
O'er heaps of hapless slain;
O Muse of Sighs! retire and weep,
That they are wrapt in awful sleep
While night and darkness reign.

Return with smiles which grace has shown,
And join the music of the throne,
Where peace proclaims her sway;
Sceptered on high she rules by love,
Uplifts her olive branch and dove,
And worlds their homage pay.

The thund'ring clouds of war are blown
Beneath her gilded horizon,
Nor shade her lucid sky;
Their madd'ning rage and deathful fire,
Far from her sacred seat retire,
Their prisoned flames to try.

Hail, charming Peace! before whose eye
The veteran warrior breathes a sigh,
And blushing sheds his tears;
Contemns the weapons he has borne,
To waste the earth in dauntless scorn,
When he thy music hears.

The savage tribes, by rapine led,
Oft screaming orgies o'er the dead,
Relent before thy shrine;
Their peaceful *calumets* they raise,
And od'rous smoke perfumes thy praise,
While *all* thy carol join.

Look, where the 'sanguined steps of war
Have stained the wilderness afar,
With boldest prints of death;
Where heroes fought and sadly fell,
With fun'ral rites of savage yell,
And smoking blood their wreath.

The muse declines the sorrowing tale,
With beating sighs her numbers fail
To tell her sharp distress;
But while blest Peace leads in her train
The murd'ring foe, who ranged the plain,
She bids her anguish cease.

In leagues of love we now unite
Around the lamp of peaceful light,
And hail the joy-clad day:
No more shall ruthless foes pervade
The vast domains of western shade,
Or warlike music play.

The Indian tomahawk and knife,
Which mirthful mocked imploring life,
Lie buried in the ground;
The dance of war shall be forgot,
And ev'ry dark and murd'rous plot,
No more in councils found.

The *bloody belt*, betokening war,
Shall be consumed, and smoking far,
Will purify the ground,
Where torturing arts of savage power,
Of pastime through the midnight hour,
O'er bleeding victims bound.

The soothing lyre with warbling strain,
Shall play where battles shook the plain,
And tune her songs of peace;
Temples will rise where warriors fell,
And heav'nly worship quick prevail,
To guide the Pagan race.

To these vast wilds will science roam,
And raise her ever-lighted dome,
To gild the shady west;
The savage tribes her lamps shall see,
And all their ancient darkness flee,
Thus in her light be blest.

The balmy beams of heavenly light
Will break the clouds of darkest night,
And ope its dreary fold;
Then shall the Pagan view enthroned
His God in skies, with glory crowned,
And awfully behold.

The future Muse will paint this clime,
The noblest region of its time,
In beauteous grandeur spread;

The *prairies*, with their myriad flowers,
In groves far off to distant shores,
O'er nature's richest bed.

Here Liberty at last retires,
With altars pure and hallowed fires,
Whose flame will last with time;
Where all the oppressed can find repose;
Where virtue want nor sorrow knows,
In all this heaven blest clime.



BOYD'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

We are extremely gratified that Mr. Boyd has opened his casket of rare antiquities to the view of the public, through the pages of the American Pioneer. He has been at much pains to collect rare and valuable autographs, original letters, &c., which he has kindly proffered the privilege of copying into the Pioneer, and for which we trust he will receive many thanks from our readers. Such letters, &c., as are thus furnished by him will be numbered, to distinguish them from others.

—

MR. BOYD'S LETTER.

Cincinnati, August 20, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams:

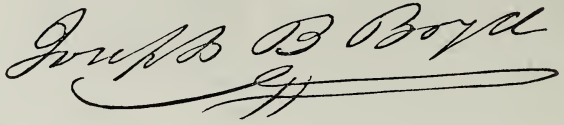
Dear Sir,—In fulfillment of a promise made to you some months ago, I selected, this morning, from my *autographic collection*, the accompanying papers, which, I believe, come within the range of your valuable publication.

These letters constitute part of a large and valuable contribution, recently received from a distinguished gentleman of New-Hampshire; and in presenting them to you for publication in the Pioneer, it would perhaps be well enough to observe, that they were not given with a view to their publication, but simply as *autographs*. If, therefore, any of your readers should think I have taken an unwarrantable liberty, in making them public, my excuse is to be found in a desire to preserve them in such a form as will ensure their future preservation, as well as to impress upon the minds of the young and rising generation a feeling of respect and veneration for the memory of those who

so gallantly and so nobly achieved our independence, which I think these letters eminently calculated to do.

If desired, I will from time to time furnish you with such others as I think worthy of preservation in the Pioneer.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,



—

No. I.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE'S LETTER.

Portsmouth, 15th Sept., 1776.

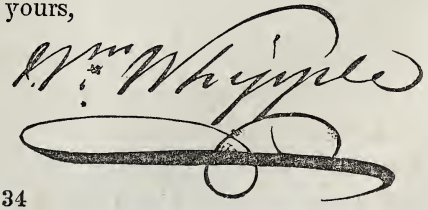
My dear Sir,—Being extremely anxious to know how matters are going on, I was much disappointed by not receiving a letter from you last post. The accounts we have from New York are very imperfect and confused, though it seems to be settled that our troops have quitted Long Island; the consequence I fear will be, that they must also evacuate York. I had a hint that congress have directed general Washington not to destroy that city, if he should be obliged to leave it; is this right? Why should we be so careful to furnish the enemy with convenient winter quarters? It appears to me that the consequence will be that the states will be put to the expense of five, if not ten times, the value of that cursed city, which ought to have been destroyed long ago.

A letter from the president, requiring more men from this state, to reinforce the army, came to hand yesterday, just after the adjournment of the general court: however, as many of the members had not gone off, they collected, and came to a resolution to raise 1000 men; orders were accordingly sent to the colonels of the militia, immediately to draught their respective proportions, and I hope they will in a few days be on their march. Colonel Thornton is elected our colleague; he has not given his answer, but I am in no doubt he will accept; in that case I suppose we shall set off together, about the 10th of October. In my last I informed you that Mr. Langdon was gone to Providence, to get guns, not doubting he would succeed; but he is returned much disappointed; has been most shamefully trifled with, by the naval committee, (as they call themselves.) It seems this committee consists of twelve men, five or six of whom are owners of the furnace. They (the naval committee) agreed that Mr. Langdon should have the guns that they had provided for one of the

ships under their direction, on condition that he would contract with the owners of the furnace, to replace them. This he consented to; but when he came to talk with those gentlemen, they declined contracting with him as agent, but if he would contract in his private character, they would furnish him with the guns at £100, lawful money, per ton; half the money to be paid on signing the contract, and interest on the remainder till paid. Mr. Langdon looked on their proposals as a great indignity offered congress, and as a gross insult to him, and quitted them, and damns them for a set of ——. I really think the conduct of those gentlemen is very extraordinary. Mr. Langdon has taken great pains to furnish them with masts, and they gave him encouragement that they would furnish him with guns; but when they had got the masts they cared but little about the other part of the bargain. I do not know what money the gentlemen have had towards building the ships, but think as they are so scrupulous of the honor of congress, their accounts ought to be settled before they have any more money. I do not see how this ship is to get to sea this winter, unless guns are sent from Philadelphia, or a positive order from the marine committee for some of those guns at Providence, which will be lying there all winter, useless, unless ordered for some other ship, as it is impossible both those ships should be manned this year.

It seems there are many complaints about the maritime courts. The court here has acquitted a vessel that ought to be condemned, and other courts condemned vessels that ought to be acquitted. Mr. Sheaf has had a ship condemned at Providence, as British property; she was bound from the West Indies for London; his property was transferred, to prevent her being seized by British ships. I really think his case hard. He intends to petition congress. Another ship, belonging to captain Lyon, of this town, under the same circumstances, is to be tried, at Salem, to-morrow. If this ship should be condemned, the owners of her will also apply to congress: so it is probable you will have business enough of this sort on your hands.

Your family were well yesterday, as I was informed by major Philbrook, by whom I sent the money. I suppose Mr. J. Adams is by this time on his way home; if he is still with you, present my regards to him. I am sincerely yours,



Hon. Josiah Bartlett,
In Congress.

DOCQUET

Of the First General Court, of the Territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, held within and for the county of Hamilton, which commenced at Cincinnati on October the fourth, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the fifteenth.

October 4th, 1790, 11 o'clock, A. M., Monday.

The Honorable Judge Turner, escorted by the sheriff and attended by the clerk and other judicial officers of the said county, present. Court opened agreeable to proclamation at the instance of the honorable the judge, above mentioned, whose commission being openly read, and the necessary proclamations duly made for the judicial and ministerial officers of the county to make their returns, the sheriff presented his list of grand-jurors summoned:—

Of Cincinnati—1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kitchell; 12, Henry Taylor; 13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward. *Of Columbia*—17, Benjamin Davis; 18, Elijah Mills; 19, Samuel Newell; 20, William Gerrard; 21, Elisha Stytes; 22, Jas. Matthews; 23, John Manning; 24, Nathaniel Stokes.

Returned to serve, the first sixteen, viz: 1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kitchell; 12, Henry Taylor; 13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward.

One judge only attending, court, without proceeding to business, was adjourned until eleven o'clock of to-morrow, A. M.

Tuesday, 5th October, 1790.

Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, honorable judge Turner. Absentees, (grand-jurors) Francis Kennedy, John Cummings, Luther Kitchell, David Logan.

Proclamations duly made, court was adjourned till twelve o'clock at noon to-morrow.

Wednesday, 6th October, 1790.

Present, honorable judge Turner. Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Absentees of yesterday obtained a remission of their respective fines. Necessary proclamations being made, court was adjourned, *ut supra*, until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

Thursday, 7th October, 1790.

Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, honorable judge Turner. Absentees, (grand-jurors) Seth Cutter, Richard Benham, Luther Kitchell, Joseph Cutter.

Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

Friday, 8th October, 1790.

Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, honorable judge Turner. Joseph M'Henry attended to serve on the grand jury. The same jurors absent to-day that were yesterday.

Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

Saturday, 12 o'clock, 9th October, 1790.

Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, honorable judge Turner. Grand Jurors absent—John Terry, Nathan Dunnals, likewise the absentees of Thursday.

Court adjourned until five o'clock of this day, Aft.

Eodem Die, 5 o'clock, Aft.

None of the judges present, the sheriff proceeded to adjourn the court without delay.

No business entered upon at this term by reason of there not being present of the honorable the judges a number sufficient to constitute a quorum.

Signed,

W. McMILLAN,

In behalf of John S. Gano, deputy to Israel Ludlow, clerk.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Many European nations claimed, and some of them are still claiming, the honor of the discovery of the new continent now called America. Poland was silent, but there are some proofs that she has the right of being in their number. The learned and well known, in Europe, Polish historian Ioachim Lelewel, living now in Brussels, found in the work of George Korn, bearing the title *Ulisses* (Leyde, Batavia, 1671,) that *John Scolnus* or *John of Colno*,* a Polander, being in the service of Christian, king of Denmark, discovered the straits of Anian and the continent of Labrador in the year 1476, that is sixteen years before the discovery of San Salvador by Christopher Columbus.

The trifling alteration of the name of the discoverer, which is very frequent with the foreigners unacquainted with the Polish language, can be easily explained. In those ages many men were called by the names of the places that gave them birth, as, Erasmus Roteroda-

*Colno, or in Polish Kolno, is a small town in Mazovia on the confines of Prussia.

mus, Paulo Veronese, Gregory of Sanok, John of Colno, or Latinized, according to the fashion of the times, Colnus, &c. The letter *c* never sounds in the Polish language like in Latin before *a*, *o*, *u*, and for such a sound is letter *k*. Letter *s* or *z* before a noun is a word, and a preposition meaning *of* or *from*. Thence the alterations, *s* incorporated into the noun *Kolno*, having *k* turned into *c*, and with the Latin termination *us*. In the Polish language his name is spelt JAN S KOLNA, and in pronouncing *s* is joined to *k*, and sounded Skolna.

Some of the Polish names suffered more alteration, as KLONOWICZ, *Klon* means, in English, maple tree, *Acer* in Latin; *wicz* is purely a Polish termination. The same man, however, is known in the literature as ACERNUS, and even he himself signed it thus.

Chillicothe, June 25, 1842. POLONUS.

It is with pleasure we give place to the above note from our neighbor Polonus, as we would be willing thus to accommodate every thing tending to correct, strengthen, or extend American history. Our neighbor claims for Poland the discovery of this new world. He is right in this, if he thinks she has claims, and as a son of her's, he will not, we hope, neglect to bring forward every item of testimony in his power. This, we believe, he expects to do. In that case we will prevail on him to give his signature, which, if he does, it will puzzle some to spell and others to pronounce.

We, too, set up in behalf of the Welch the priority of discovery. There is some testimony going to show this, which we may show in favor of our father's. We think Drake, in his Indian Biography, says that "the fact of the Welch having discovered America is about as well established as the existence of the sea-serpent." Thus we consider that he thinks it pretty certain, for although here, away out west, we may be allowed a few doubts in relation to the existence of his snakeship majesty, yet in Boston, where Mr. Drake lives, we believe no body is so incredulous. At any rate, America was discovered, settled, and became an important part of the globe. Its history ought to be carefully collected and preserved. This we aim at, and will venture to prognosticate, that if the American Pioneer should live two or three years it will become quite an interesting work.

Our friend Polonus desires us to say to Mr. Sanduski's descendants, mentioned on page 199, that if they have in their possession any history either of Poland or America in Polish, French, or Italian, which they are willing to have translated, he would take great pleasure in translating them into good English; and will, if desired, safely return them. He says the same to all to whom these presents may come. We will take great pleasure in receiving such papers to our address, and will go security that his promises will be faithfully and well executed. We take this occasion also to say to all foreigners, or children of foreigners, that if they have any sketches of American history or incidents in any language, (within the compass of western literature,) and will trust us with them, that the same shall be done for them.

DR. STEBBINS' LETTER.

The following letter from our valued correspondent, Dr. Stebbins, of Northampton, Mass., we are not sure was intended for the press, but it is too valuable to be suppressed. Appropos—Is it egotism in a pioneer to tell his own tale when no one else can do it? No, indeed; they must either speak of their own acts or they must sink into oblivion. Is it egotism in our fathers to say, we own these lands, they are ours, and we bequeath them to you—no one else can? Their history as well as their property should be handed down to their children. We have much more valuable matter from Dr. Stebbins, and hope for much more yet.

—

Northampton, July 7, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir—Yours of the 28th ult. is this morning received, directed to *David Stebbins*—no such person within my knowledge. You have asked how you could get at some things I have? You have an answer in part of what follows. In regard to my name and age you have missed a figure. I am not so old as you surmise, by the legal term of apprenticeship, yet I have lived a period of time equal or over one-third the number of years which have elapsed since our pilgrim fathers landed on Plymouth rock. You ask for some account of myself and family. To gratify your enquiry, although it savors of egotism, I present you with the following as an addition to your bundle of manuscripts:

My name, Daniel Stebbins; born at Springfield, Mass., April 2d, 1766; graduated at Yale college, September, 1788. My ancestor, Rowland Stebbins, was among the early settlers of New Engand, and came from the west of England with his family of two sons, Thomas and John, and several daughters, and supposed to be all of the name that ever came over. I suppose that they came with the eight hundred and forty who arrived about the year 1630, and came to Springfield with Wm. Pynchon and others about 1636, and took their settlement rights near the present centre of the town. The same year, in the true spirit of the pilgrims, entered in written covenant to settle a minister, and redeemed the pledge the next year by settling the Rev. Mr. Monxton. At this time, Springfield had the territory of about twenty-five miles square, and was estimated to have capabilities for the accommodation of not over fifty families.

1645.—A meeting house, twenty-five by forty, was erected. On the Sabbath were called together by the beating of the drum from Mr. Monxton's to the house of Rowland Stebbins, a distance of one

hundred rods, more or less. Each family paid the drummer four pence worth of *wampum*, or a peck of Indian corn.

1653.—Northampton begun to be settled by Wm. Pynchon and others, among whom came Rowland Stebbins and his son John (I am the descendant of Thomas,) and took their settlement rights.

1671.—Rowland Stebbins, probably about seventy years of age, died, and was buried in the cemetery in Northampton, in the same yard containing the remains of David Brainard the missionary. To the memory of my ancestor, I have recently erected a monument of granite, commemorative of the events. Thus, at your request, I have given you the outlines of my family, within which there might be given much of anecdote.

—

Reminiscence of Three Offers in early Life.—About the year 1788-9, captain Hayden came into the county of Hampshire to procure ship timber, and took lodgings at my father's house, while I was in the study of physic. He had been to Canton, China, in the first American vessel that ever entered the port of Canton—had engaged to build a ship of about eight hundred tons for consul Shaw and take it out to him. The timber he procured at Granby and Belcherstown in the vicinity of Springfield, which was sent by water to the vicinity of Boston, where the ship was built. His first voyage was in a vessel of so small burthen, that when moored alongside of the British merchantmen his vessel, in comparison, was but a *canoe* in size. He was in port only about two months, yet had to pay the same duties as a ship of the largest size, say five hundred dollars. Captain Hayden was pleased to offer me a surgeon's birth in his new ship, with a salary of one thousand dollars the voyage, and the privilege of the same sum as a venture, if my father would consent and furnish the means, but the offer was declined.

The second offer was about the year 1796, being then located in a small country town with a store of goods. Having friends in Boston who had long wished me to remove to the city, where they were doing a profitable cash business, they having offers to change their business, wrote me, with an offer of their whole stock, with warrantee of a certain amount of cash sales daily, and wait upon me for pay until the whole value should be raised out of the sales, and the privilege of five years unexpired rent in one of the best stands on Cornhill. That they had offers from people in Boston who would purchase and buy them out and pay a handsome premium on the rent. If I accepted of their offer, it must be done on or before a certain day. There being no post office in the town where I was

dealing out "*stay-tape and buckram,*" I did not obtain the letter until the same day to which the offer extended at four o'clock, P. M., and one hundred miles distant. Thus the offer of changing my country business to the city was frustrated, and I was left to breathe the pure mountain breeze.

The third offer occurred about the year 1800, being then in New York after goods. Having made my purchases, proceeded to collect my bills at the several stores—at the last store in one of the principal streets, having paid the bill, and about leaving the store with a "*good-by,*" the owner of the store invited me to stop a moment; said he wished to retire from business on account of his health, had on hand about *forty thousand* dollars, at cost, of cutlery, silver, and fancy hardware, which he offered me at cost, with the privilege of his name at the city banks or stores, the privilege of importing from houses abroad, with his name and assistance in all cases, and the guarantee that the business should enable me the first year to pay for the whole stock on hand, and capital left amply sufficient to prosecute the business, &c., &c. I heard the whole with perfect astonishment. He was urgent for an answer before I left the city. We had another interview, and I stated that he had so little acquaintance with me that he would take a great risk; the objections he met by saying that having noticed my usual good judgment in selecting goods, prompt payment, and pleasing manners, that he could not be mistaken in my character, with many other kind remarks, that I was more astonished than at the first interview. He was a bachelor, and I a raw country lad. I did not consult any one, but felt it my duty to decline the liberal offer; but had I consulted some business man, I now think he would have said "*accept.*"

—

Reminiscence of an Incident during the War of our Revolution. While reading a sketch of the surrender of Cornwallis, and having visited that section of country, brought to my recollection both that event and the sudden death of brave captain White, of Springfield, whom I once knew as the father of the lady of Dr. Dwight, now (1842) residing in South Hadly, Mass. Captain White was killed at the memorable siege of Yorktown, Va. He, with a selected band of brave soldiers, was appointed to approach near the lines of Cornwallis under the cover of night, and to secrete himself in a low place within reach of musket-shot, and there lie close to the ground, that the balls of the enemy could not be brought to bear upon his party, but pass harmlessly over the Americans, and captain White ordered to remain until by signal to execute further orders. Captain White was a brave man, fearless of danger, cool and collected. The morn-

ing opened with an incessant blaze and roar of cannon, but during a momentary cessation, captain White, anxious no doubt to know the cause and see how matters stood, gradually elevated his head to take a peep at the British battery; at that fatal moment the head was *severed from the body* by a cannon ball. Who of us, at this distant day, can feel the poignant grief of the widowed mother of an interesting family of children, cast upon an unfeeling world, clustering around her to hear the sad story of a father's death and witness a mother's grief?

—

Recollections of a Classmate.—In consequence of reading about the contested inventions of Fitch, Fulton, and others, I was reminded of my classmate, Joseph Strong, who graduated at Yale college, 1788. He was possessed of a powerful mathematical and mechanical genius. After leaving college he studied the medical science, and afterwards entered the United States service in the capacity of a surgeon. Neither his native town nor the place where he pursued his medical studies are now recollected, but it is believed to be near the borders of the Connecticut river, where he constructed a small boat with machinery to speed upon the water at pleasure, by manual or foot power, applicable, however, to horse or steam power. Apprehending that the same principles might be applied to land carriages, he was said to have constructed a small vehicle to be urged forward by the feet of the rider or other power which might be applied. He was so satisfied of its capability that he was intending to take out a *patent*, and in his way for that purpose, stopping at New Haven, concluded to exhibit it to the faculty of the college and other literary gentlemen. The exhibition was said to have been made in the college museum or library, where the inspectors had opportunity to test the experiment and coast about the room in fine style with great ease and velocity. After which a discussion took place, "whether the principles were applicable or adequate to propel the vehicle up an ascent with uniform motion, or to govern and moderate the descent at pleasure." The reasonings and doubts of the examiners were so diverse from the opinion of young Strong, that he withdrew his vehicle and machinery, and in disgust destroyed the whole, and entered the United States service as surgeon. Had Dr. Strong been suitably encouraged with means to improve his invention, (for with him it was invention,) *one kind word of encouragement* might have here given his country the benefits of internal improvement some years earlier. We have many instances of genius in youth stifled with a single breath, and notices of similar inventions discovered at the same time in countries remote from each other. Since the time of Dr. Strong, the light of science

has shone upon us; improvements have and are being made from year to year. The Atlantic ocean may now be crossed in about two weeks, and a proposition has been made to cross *over* the same ocean in thirty hours by balloon conveyance. But is this more surprising than the improvements in the printing press, to strike off sixty bibles in *an hour*, equal to one every minute, and at an expense of twenty-five to thirty cents per volume? Compare this with the time of king Edward the First, when the price of a bible in manuscript was equal to the wages of fifteen years' labor!

—

I have received by mail seven numbers of the Pioneer, and am highly gratified with the perusal. With regard to the making use of my name, I have no ambition or interest to have it known, but from your remarks should think that you prefer to make it public. You say "I have caught myself in a trap." Not exactly so, I reckon, for you have spelt my given name David instead of Daniel, so that after all it is some unknown person.

There is a typographical error in the fourth number of the Pioneer, page 146; no such place in Connecticut as Northfork—should be *Northford;* and no town in Connecticut of the name of Marshfield—should be *Mansfield.*

Yours respectfully, David Stebbins

GENERAL M'DOUGAL'S LETTER.

Head Quarters, Peckskill, 24th March, 1779.

My Dear Sir—I received your favor of the 20th ultimo. Although you judged very right, as to my being pressed with unceasing business, yet I will now devote a moment to acknowledge yours. I am very happy to hear of your welfare, and that you are in a prosperous way. It is a consolation to me, that my intentions respecting religious liberty is fully accomplished in this state. The seed has long since been sowed, and the harvest has answered my expectation. The states would not suffer congress to retain more of their respective sovereignties than it has—the consequence might be very injurious. The particular grievances your people labor under, in the Bay State, will be, it must by perseverance, be redressed. The Rev. Mr. Smith, who is one of your ministers, is chaplain to Nixon's brigade, under my orders. I have given my opinion fully on the steps to be steadily and prudently pursued. In this day of political light, the darkness which overwhelms the minds of bigots will be dispelled. Let your peo-

ple persevere in the public struggle, and not yield the palm to any of their neighbors. This will give them a claim of merit on the community, and by steady representations of their unequal grievances, they will certainly obtain redress. I wish them to give the bigots no advantage over them, by imprudent measures or heated publications. If we are happy enough to have a peace in our days, all the presses on the continent may be engaged against them. There is no truth to me more clear, than that establishments have ruined every church for whose benefit it was originally made. The church of Christ wants no such props. I am glad to hear of Mr. Oglvie doing well; but he is so strange a mortal, I have not been able to comprehend his character or views in life. He is the strangest mortal I ever knew, has the strangest pride about him I ever observed in any mortal. This is all that I can say to you at present. I shall always be glad to hear from you, but you will not always receive ready answers.

I am, my dear sir, with great truth and regard,
Your affectionate friend and very humble servant,

Alexr McDougall

To Major Wm. Goforth,
[late of New York, now in Philadelphia.]

We give place to the following advertisement, as of our personal knowledge we believe it will revive many early reminiscences in the minds of early pioneers, and bring back recollections of scenes of years long gone by. This is one object we have for introducing many scraps which appear of little utility in themselves. Many of them, however, will, after refreshing the memories of the aged, serve to fix dates and circumstances in historical record by many entirely unanticipated. We have, also, a most interesting communication from our Brownsville correspondent, entitled "Red Stone Old Fort," which we reluctantly but unavoidably defer.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The subscriber, tavern-keeper at the sign of the Kentucky Boat, in Front street, at Redstone Old Fort, returns his most grateful acknowledgements to former customers, and informs travellers to Kentucky, and western river traders, that those who will favor him with their custom may depend on good accommodations in his way, and at the most reasonable rates that can be afforded. He will also engage boats for any that may favor him with their commands in writing for that purpose.

GEORGE KINNEAR.

March 1, 1792.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

L.S.

State of Ohio, to wit.

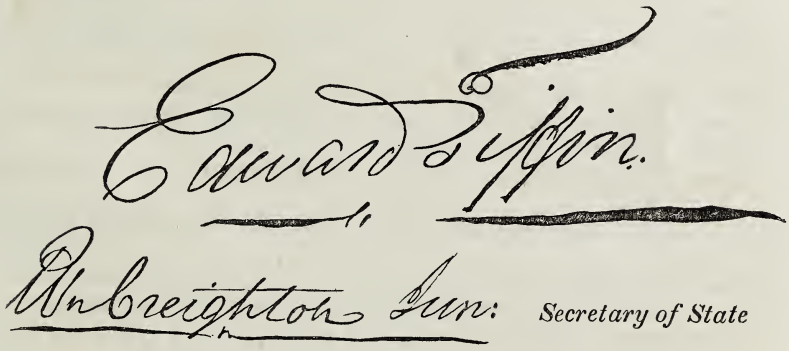
EDWARD TIFFIN, *governor of the state of Ohio,*

To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

It is hereby certified, that at an election held at the several election districts in the state aforesaid, on the first Saturday of this month, under the act entitled "an act to provide for the election of electors of the President and Vice President," William Goforth, sen., esq., was duly and legally elected an elector of President and Vice President of the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed the great seal of the state of Ohio; done at Chillicothe, in the state aforesaid, the 17th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of this state the second.

By the governor.



Secretary of State

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN TRIBES.

Continued.

Catawbas, on Catawba river, in South Carolina; had long wars with the Iroquois; 150 warriors in 1764.

Caughnewagas, tribes of praying Indians, in several places.

Cherokees, Carolina and Tennessee; 12,000 in 1812; 9,000 have agreed to emigrate.

Chiens, near the source of Chien river; 200 in 1820.

Chikahominies, on Matapony river, in Virginia, in 1661; but 3 or 4 in 1790.

Chikasaws, between the head branches of Mobile river in 1780; once said to have been 10,000; in 1763, about 250; now vastly increased; in 1835, 5,600 agreed to emigrate.

Chikamaugas, on the Tennessee, 90 miles below the Cherokees;

many years since broken from them, under the chief, *Dragomono.*

Chillukittequaus, next below the Narrows on the Columbia; 1400, in 32 lodges.

Chimnahpum, at Lewis' river, N. W. side of the Columbia: 1800, in 42 lodges.

Chinnooks, north side of Columbia river; 400, in 28 lodges.

Chippewas, many formidable tribes about the great lakes—See *Ojibwas.*

Choktaus, formerly of Carolina; about 15,000 in 1812; now on a government grant of 15,000,000 acres on the north side Red river, and about 18,000.

Chopunnishes, on the Kooskooskee, 2000; and on Lewis' river, below Kooskooskee, to the Columbia, 2300; in all, in 1806, 73 lodges.

Clakstars, beyond the Rocky Mountains; 1200, in 28 lodges.

Clatsops, below mouth Columbia, about Point Adams; 200, in 14 lodges.

Cohakies, nearly destroyed by the Saques and Foxes, in the time of Pontiak; in 1800, a few wanderers near Winnebago Lake.

Comanches.—See *Camanches.*

Conoies, near the east branch of the Susquehannah; about 40 in 1780.

Congarees, on the Congaree river in South Carolina.

Copper Indians, far in the north, about Coppermine river; numerous.

Corees, a tribe of North Carolina.

Creeks, formerly over a vast country from near the Gulf of Mexico, north-east.

Crees, north of the Missouri, and west of the Mississippi; 3000 in 1834.

Delawares, once numerous on the river and bay of the same name, now chiefly beyond the Mississippi; anciently, Lenalenape.

Dinondadies, a tribe of the Hurons; same as the Tsononthouans of the French.

Docotas, bands of the Sioux.

Dog Indians, or *Chiens*, 3460, on the heads of Chayenne river.

Dog-rib Indians, tribe of Blackfeet, to the north of them; of a different language.

Echemins, on a river of their name, which flows into the St. Lawrence, on the east side.

Eneshures, at the Great Narrows of the Columbia; 1200, in 41 clans.

Eries, on the east of the lake of their name, entirely exterminated by the Iroquois.

Eskeloots, on the Columbia; 1000, in 21 lodges or clans.

Esquimaux, about Labrador and the neighboring country.

Euchees, friendly Creeks; 200 now in service against the Seminoles.

Five Nations, anciently many thousands, on the east of the great lakes.

Flat-heads, beyond the Rocky Mountains, on a fork of Columbia river.



FANUEIL HALL, BOSTON.

AMERICAN PIONEER.

Devoted to the Truth and Justice of History.

VOL. I. DECEMBER, 1842. NO. XII.

CRADLE OF LIBERTY.

[See Frontispiece.]

We give below a short sketch of two very important scenes at the commencement of our revolutionary struggles, viz: the first victim sacrificed in the cause, and the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, from Snow's history; and as not being inappropriate, a view of the building in which the first voices were heard eloquently pleading the cause of liberty, and where the first cry of war reverberated from side to side.

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FANEUIL HALL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

The accompanying engraving represents that ancient "cradle of liberty," immortal Faneuil Hall. The building was erected in 1742, at the sole expense of Peter Faneuil, esq., and generously given to the town; the basement for a market, with a spacious and most beautiful hall, and other convenient rooms above, for the accommodation of the citizens on all public occasions. The building was then one hundred feet by forty; and the hall capable of holding two thousand people, or more. This fine and convenient building was consumed by fire in 1761, excepting the brick walls: but the town voted to rebuild it immediately. Mr. Faneuil had then been dead several years. In 1805, it was enlarged by the addition of another story, and of forty feet to the width, thus making it eighty feet wide. There is a cupola on the building, from which is a fine view of the harbor of Boston. The hall is about eighty feet square, and twenty-eight feet in height; with galleries on three sides supported by Doric columns. At the west end, the wall is ornamented with a good full-length likeness of Peter Faneuil, of general Washington, governor John Hancock, general Henry Knox, and others; and a bust of president John Adams. The lower part of the building is no longer used as a market; a large and elegant one having been erected by the city for that purpose in 1827. In the immediate vicinity, stands one of those old, antiquated "many-covered, gable-ended, top-heavy, old houses, which constituted the compact centre of Boston in the days of the old English governors. It was long occupied by the late John K. Simpson, and is the only one of that venerable and picturesque heap of triangles, which has not dropped beneath the merciless hand of improvement."

FIRST BLOOD OF THE REVOLUTION.—DESTRUCTION OF TEA.

"In January, 1770, the merchants renewed their agreement not to import British goods. They held several meetings in Faneuil Hall, and appointed committees of inspection, who should examine into the truth of reports, concerning the unfaithfulness of some who had signed the articles. The names of several were reported, and ordered to be published. Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson sent a message to one of these meetings, by the sheriff, (whose name was Stephen Greenleaf, 'enjoining and requiring them without delay to separate and disperse, and to forbear such unlawful assemblies for the future.' After a calm consideration of the message, it was unanimously voted to proceed: and a written answer was sent to his honor, signifying their opinion that the meeting was warranted by law.

"Theophilus Lillie, who kept a shop near the New Brick meeting-house, was one of those denounced as *importers*. On the 22d of February, some persons erected near Lillie's a large wooden head, fixed on a pole, on which the faces of several importers were carved. One Ebenezer Richardson, living in the neighborhood, (who had acquired the appellation of *informer*,) endeavored to persuade some teamsters from the country, to run the post down with their carts; but they understanding the nature of the pageantry, would have nothing to do with it. Richardson foolishly persisted, and seized the bridle of the horses, but failed of his intent to guide the team against the post. On this, the boys set up a shout, which being resented by Richardson, they pelted him with dirt till they drove him into his own house. The noise gathered a considerable number of people. Hard words passed between Richardson and some of the multitude; stones were thrown on both sides, till at length Richardson discharged a musket at random from his door, and another from his window. One young man was severely injured, and a boy, Christopher Snider, about eleven years of age, received a mortal wound in his breast. Upon this the bells were set to wringing, and a vast concourse of people drawn together. Richardson and one Wilmot, a seaman, who had taken his part in the affray, were secured and carried to Faneuil Hall, where they underwent an examination and were committed for trial.

"The boy died in the course of the evening, and was removed to his parents' house in Frog lane (Boylston street.) All the friends of liberty were invited to attend the funeral 'of this little hero and *first martyr* to the noble cause.' This innocent lad was announced as 'the first whose life had been a victim to the cruelty and rage of oppressors. Young as he was, he died in his country's cause, by the hand of one, directed by others, who could not bear to see the enemies of America made the ridicule of boys.' On Monday, the 26th, his funeral took place. The little corpse was set down under the Tree of Liberty, from which the procession began. The coffin bore inscriptions appropriate to the times; on the foot, '*Latet anguis in herba:*' on each side, '*Haeret lateri lethalis arundo:*' and on the head, '*Innocentia* NUSQUAM *tuta.*" Four or five hundred school boys, in couples, preceded the corpse; six of the lad's playfellows supported the pall; the relatives and a train of thirteen hundred inhabitants on foot, and thirty chariots and chaises closed the procession."

"On the first of December, 1773, captain James Bruce, in the ship Eleanor, arrived with another portion of the tea. On the third, he was ordered to attend the next day on a committee of the people in Faneuil Hall, where he was commanded by Samuel Adams, and Jonathan Williams, assembled with John Rowe, John Hancock, William Phillips, and John Pitts, esqrs., and a great number of others, not to land any of the said tea, but to proceed to Griffin's wharf and there discharge the rest of his cargo. Captain Hez. Coffin arrived in the brig Beaver, near the same time, and was ordered to pursue the same course.

"It being perceived, that Mr. Rotch rather lingered in his preparations to return the Dartmouth to London, and the twenty days being nearly expired, after which the collector might seize the ship and cargo, Mr. Rotch was summoned before the committee, and stated to them, that it would prove his entire ruin, if he should comply with the resolutions of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of November, and therefore he should not do it. A meeting of the people was assembled at the Old South, on Tuesday, P. M., Dec. fourteenth, when Mr. R. appeared, and was enjoined forthwith to demand a clearance. It was ascertained, that one could not be obtained till the next day, and therefore the meeting was adjourned to Thursday at the same place.

"On Thursday, there was the fullest meeting ever known: two thousand men at least were present from the country. Samuel Phillips Savage, esq. of Weston, was appointed moderator. Mr. Rotch reported that the collector would not give him a clearance. He was then ordered upon his peril to get his ship ready for sea *this day*, enter a protest *immediately* against the custom-house, and proceed *directly* to the governor, (then at Milton, seven miles distant,) and demand a pass for his ship to go by the castle. An adjourment to three P. M. then took place. At three having met, they waited very patiently till five o'clock, when finding that Mr. Rotch did not return, they began to be very uneasy, called for a dissolution of the meeting, and finally obtained a vote for it. But the more judicious, fearing what would be the consequences, begged for a reconsideration of that vote, 'for this reason, that they ought to do every thing in their power to send the tea back, according to their resolves.' This touched the pride of the assembly, and they agreed to remain together one hour.

"This interval was improved by Josiah Quincy, jr., to apprize his fellow-citizens of the importance of this crisis, and direct their attention to the probable results of this controversy. He succeeded in holding them in attentive silence, till Mr. Rotch's return, at three quarters past five o'clock. The answer which he brought from the governor was, 'that, for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit, until the vessel was regularly cleared.' A violent commotion immediately ensued. A person who was in the gallery, disguised after the manner of the Indians, shouted at this juncture the cry of war: it was answered by about thirty persons, disguised in like manner, at the door. The meeting was dissolved in the twinkling of an eye. The multitude rushed to Griffin's wharf. The disguised Indians went on board the ships laden with the tea. In less than two hours, two hundred and forty chests and one hundred half-chests were staved and emptied into the dock. No damage was done to the vessels or other effects."

LOUIS PHILIPPE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The duke of Orleans proposed to travel in the interior of the United States. They set out on horseback, accompanied by a single servant, named Baudoin, who had followed the duke of Orleans to St. Gothard. They went to Baltimore, and thence into Virginia, where they saw general Washington at Mount Vernon, who, before the expiration of his presidency, had invited them to visit him.

After traveling through the south, they visited the falls of Niagara, and in the month of July, 1797, they returned to Philadelphia, at the time the yellow fever raged in that city. These three princes, who had been born to the highest fortune, could not quit this dangerous residence for want of money. It was not until September, that their mother, having recovered possession of her property, supplied them with means for a new journey. They went first to New York, and then visited Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine. On their return to Boston the newspapers informed them of the banishment of their mother. They then went immediately to Philadelphia, intending to join their mother in Spain, whither they were informed that she had been transported. But the want of funds and the war between Spain and England, opposed their desires. There seemed but one course left, namely, to go to Louisiana and thence to Havana.

They left Philadelphia in December, 1797, and went down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, where they were kindly received. They staid in this city five weeks, waiting for a Spanish vessel; but, being disappointed, they embarked in an American ship, which was taken on the voyage by an English frigate. The duke of Orleans discovered himself to the captain, who landed him with his brothers at Havana, the 11th of March. They attempted in vain to get a passage to Europe. Notwithstanding their regret at being obliged to live out of France, they would have been contented in obscurity, if they could have obtained the means of an honorable subsistence.

Their reception by the Spanish authorities, and the inhabitants of Havana, gave them some hopes; but the court of Madrid disappointed them, by forcing them to quit the island of Cuba. An order was issued at Aranjuez, directing the captain-general of Havana, to send the three brothers to New Orleans, without providing them with any means of support. The brothers refused to go to the place designated, but went to the English Bahamas, where they were kindly received by the duke of Kent, who, however, did not feel authorized to give them a passage to England in a British frigate. They were not discouraged, but sailed in a small vessel to New York, whence an English packet carried them to Falmouth, and they arrived in London in February, 1800. The duke still desired most earnestly to see his mother, and the English government allowed him to take passage to Minorca in a frigate. The war between Spain and England threw many obstacles in the way of the interview, and he was obliged to return to England without seeing her.—*Zodiac.*

POST OFFICE FACILITIES.

Auditor's Office, Post Office Dep't., August 8th, 1842.

Sir,—In the articles of confederation and perpetual union between the states, signed on the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, the power to establish post offices, is classed among the most important powers delegated to congress, as follows:

"The United States in congress, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power, of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or that of the respective states:—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—*establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite* to defray the expenses of said office—appointing all officers, of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations."

Before the articles of confederation were adopted, congress had, at different times, and in various resolutions, declared the importance of the post office establishment to the safety of the states; and the first ordinance for regulating the post office, after the articles of confederation were signed, passed on the 18th of October, 1782, reaffirmed its importance in the commencement of the ordinance, by saying;—"whereas the communication of intelligence with regularity and dispatch, from one part to another, of these United States, is essentially requisite to the safety, as well as the commercial interests thereof, &c."

The general impression is, that the post office department is rather of private than public concernment, that its main objects and use are to promote social intercourse, and to disseminate intelligence, with which the government, as such, is not immediately interested nor connected. Hence, it has generally been thrown upon its own resources; and although it has directly contributed to enrich the treasury, at various periods, in the aggregate sum of $1,103,063; and although it transports annually free of postage, public documents, despatches, letters, and packets, which would, if charged with the same rates that

individuals pay, amount to at least $510,192,00; yet when embarrassed, the same prompt and sustaining relief has not been given to it, that has been given to every other department of the government.

Even its *respectability* and *dignity* have been questioned, by some of *those* engaged in the other departments.

The ordinance referred to, pays a merited compliment to the post office department, in confiding to *it* "*the safety* of the country and its *commercial interests.*"

And if usefulness and antiquity confer respectability and rank, the post office department will not shrink in the comparison with any other department.

You are not too enthusiastic in your remarks, on the subject of the post office department, in the third number of the Pioneer.

Under the confederation, the want of power in congress, to act, regard to the post office department, independent of state authority, was felt to be an evil; as was the same want of power to regulate commerce, to control our foreign and domestic relations, and to regulate the various matters that led the wise and patriotic men of that day, to abandon the confederacy and to adopt the constitution.

When a mail was robbed, the state in which, and near to which the offense was committed, were supplicated to arrest the offenders. Hence, the following proceedings were had in congress, on the 19th of June, 1782. "On the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Bland, Mr. Mc Kean, and Mr. Wright, to whom was referred a letter of the 17th, from E. Hazard, post master general, giving information that the southern post was robbed of his mail, on Sunday, the 16th, within five miles of Harford, in the state of Maryland; Resolved, that the executives of the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, be, and they are hereby requested, to pursue the most likely measures, by offering proper rewards, at the expense of the United States, and otherwise, for recovering the mail and bringing the robbers to due punishment.

Postages.

The rates of postages were specifically fixed by the ordinance of congress, passed on the 18th of October, 1782, and were as follows: "For any distance not exceeding sixty miles, one penny weight eight grains—[seven cents and one third.] Upwards of sixty, and not exceeding one hundred, two pennyweight—[eleven cents.] Above one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred miles, two pennyweight sixteen grains—[$0,14,$\frac{7}{10}$.] And so on, sixteen grains, [$0,3$\frac{7}{10}$] advance, for every hundred miles. And for all single letters, to and from Europe, by packet or dispatch vessel, four pennyweight [$0,22,]

the above rates to be doubled, for double letters; trebled, for treble letters; and a packet weighing an ounce, to be charged equal to four single letters; and in that proportion if of a greater weight; and to the foregoing rates shall be charged, a sum, not exceeding four ninetieths of a dollar, upon every letter, packet, or dispatch, which shall come into the post office from beyond sea, by any other conveyance than packets or dispatch vessels; and every letter, packet, and dispatch, except dead letters, may and shall be retained in the office, where the same shall have arrived, which shall be nearest to the place of direction, until the postage thereon shall be paid."

Each pennyweight was estimated at five ninetieths of a dollar, its value at that time.

I have not been able to ascertain, what the rates of postages were, at the first organization of the post office department in 1775, nor subsequent to that period, and before the ordinance mentioned.

By an act passed by the British parliament in 1710, the rates of postages were established to and from New York, within certain limits, as mentioned in the Annals; but it is not probable that they remained unchanged until 1775, and what rates were fixed, as the line of posts was extended, is not within my research.

Whatever the rates were, they underwent frequent changes. By a resolution passed on the 17th of October, 1777, they were increased fifty per cent.

On the 16th of April, 1779, they were doubled.

December 28, 1779, the rate of postage was fixed at twenty prices upon the sums paid in 1775.

On the 5th of May, 1780, they were again doubled.

December 11th, 1780, they were fixed at half the rates paid at the commencement of the war.

February 24th, 1781,—It was resolved: that the postage of letters, in future, be double the sums paid, before the commencement of the present war.

September 20th, 1786, a committee consisting of Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Dane, and Mr. Carrington, to whom was referred a letter from the post master general, of the 19th, reported, "whereas the United States in congress assembled, are, by the articles of confederation, intrusted with the sole and exclusive right of establishing and regulating post offices, from one state to another, throughout the United States, and exacting the postages on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said offices: and whereas, the present situation and demands of the post office, will on no account allow the receipt of any other money than specie: the paper currencies of the several states, from their limited cir-

culation and probable depreciation, being totally inadequate to the purpose,

"Resolved, therefore, that the post master general be, and he is hereby directed, to issue instructions to the post masters in the several states, to receive no other money in payment for postages than specie.

"Resolved, that the post master general be, and he is hereby empowered, in all cases where he may conceive it necessary, to demand, or authorize the demanding the postage, at the time the letters are put into the post office." Nine states were represented, to wit: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and on taking the yeas and nays on the last resolution, it passed in the affirmative by the unanimous vote of the States, and by the unanimous vote of all the members.

October 20th, 1787, the post master general was instructed "to alter the rates of postage, so as to reduce them as nearly twenty-five per centum as will consist with the present mode of calculating pennyweights and grains of silver, in order to reduce them to the currencies of the several states." The arrangement to take effect on the 5th of the following April.

Compensation to Deputy Post Masters.

We have seen by the resolutions establishing the post office department, that the deputy post masters were allowed twenty per centum on the sums they collected and paid to the general post office annually, when the whole was under or not exceeding one thousand dollars, and ten per centum for all sums above.

This rate of compensation was continued until the ordinance of October 18th, 1782, was passed: but on the 12th of April, 1777, the post master general was authorized to make an additional allowance to the deputy post masters, of any sum not exceeding two hundred dollars per annum, when he should find the same to be absolutely necessary.

The post master general, by the ordinance of 1782 referred to above, was empowered to make such allowance in commissions to his deputies as he should think their respective services might merit, not exceeding twenty per cent.

Franking Privilege.

On the 8th of November, 1775, congress "resolved, that all letters to and from the delegates of the United Colonies, during the sessions of congress, pass and be carried free of postage; the members having

engaged upon *honor* not to frank or inclose any letters but their own."

This is the first resolution I find upon the subject, and whether post masters were entitled to this privilege is a matter of doubt. I think it is probable that the pledge of *honor* better protected the revenue than it is now protected by penal statutes. "Pockets" for inclosing letters are of modern mention. (Pockets are envelopes prepared and franked.)

Two days after the foregoing resolution was passed, the franking privilege was extended to the commander-in-chief of the continental army, and to the chief of the army in the northern department. April 19th, 1776, congress "resolved, that letters which are directed to any general in the continental service, commanding in a separate department, be carried free of postage by the continental post." It will be noticed, that a general thus commanding could not "*send*," although he received his letters free of postage.

December 28th, 1779, single letters directed to any officer of the line, and all letters directed to general officers, or to officers commanding in a separate department, and all letters to and from the ministers, commissioners, and secretaries of these United States at foreign courts, were declared to be free. December 14th, 1782, the privilege of franking letters was extended to the inspector general, the adjutant general, the director of the hospitals, the quarter-master general, the commissary of provisions, the pay-master general, and to the officers of the army commanding separate posts. The franking privilege to that period was confined to letters. It is reported, that at one time the privilege of franking by members of congress was without restriction as to material and weight; and that Roger Sherman, who had opposed the privilege because it was liable to abuse, to show he was practically correct, sent his linen and stockings in the mail to be washed at home.

The privilege to frank was first confined, as we have seen, to the delegates in congress during their session. Although sixty-two members were elected or commissioned to attend congress at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775, only forty-nine attended, and the privilege to frank was therefore in the first instance granted for a part of the year only to *forty-nine persons.*

On the 1st of July, 1842, fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-seven persons were authorized by law to frank during the whole year.

On the 20th of April, 1776, George Washington, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, was not permitted to send a letter free of postage to a general in command of a separate post,

nor to congress, nor to the governor of a state, with all of whom he was in the most intimate and constant intercourse: and on the 9th of September, 1842, Mrs. Madison and Mrs. Harrison were entitled to this privilege, from respect to their being the widows of two benefactors of the country, whom the people had delighted to honor.

The act of March 2d, 1827, gave the privilege to frank to the commissioners of the navy board, which is composed of three naval officers. It is a little remarkable, that from the first confederation of the states down to 1827, no naval officer was entitled to the privilege to send a letter on public or private business free of postage, and then that it should be confined to three officers stationed at Washington.

The navy has fought its way to the confidence of the country—it has asked nothing as a gratuity or favor, and her officers have rarely been noticed in any act giving privileges to others. If the navy board shall be abolished, as is now contemplated, no officer in the navy will be entitled to the franking privilege without further legislation.

The number of free letters sent by the delegates on mail days in 1775, is unknown; but as the mail was carried on horse back it must have been inconsiderable; and probably not in the whole, the tenth part of what a single gentleman now franks in a day. Mr. Niles, in 1840, when post master general, required that an account be taken of the number and weight of free letters and packets during three weeks ending the 2d of May, 2d of June, and 7th of July, 1840, and the result was, that there were free letters and packets from the executive departments sent through the post office in the city of Washington to the number of - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 22,038

From members of congress - - - - - - - - - - 20,363

Public documents and other franked packets - - - - 392,268

434,669

[The Table on next page should come here, but could not be got in.–Ed.]

Who can doubt that the post office department has more than realized the most enthusiastic anticipations of its founders, in disseminating intelligence through every portion of this extensive republic, "with regularity and dispatch"—which congress in the ordinance passed on the 18th of October, 1782, declared "were essentially requisite to the safety as well as to the commercial interests thereof."

Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

G. Whitlesey

Jno. S. Williams, Esqr.

CONDENSED STATEMENT OF MAIL MATTER SENT FROM THE POST OFFICES AT NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON, D. C., AND RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, FOR ONE WEEK.

Letters charged with Postage.				Free Letters.		Free Pamphlets.	Pamphlets.	Newspap'rs	Total.
Offices.	*Week ending*	*Number*	*Weight*	*Number*	*Weight*	*Weight*	*Weight*	*Weight*	*Weight of Mail matter*
	1838.		Pounds Oz.		Pounds Oz.	Pounds Oz.	Pounds Oz.	Pounds.	Pounds.
New York,	June 13	42,734	792 07	1,407	111 04	31 08	1,644 "	16,642	19,221¼
Philadelphia, 1*	" 17	20,193	357 08	981	30 03½	7 "	2,020 04	18,433¾	20,848¾
Baltimore, 2	" 13	9,776	186 "	420	20 "	4 "	- - - - -	2,510	2,720
Washington, D. C. 3	May 9	- - - -	- - - -	7,585	341 "	Pub. Documents. 5,131 "	not	reported	- - - - -
" "	June 9	2,325	43 15½	- - -	- - - -	- - - - -	Estimated	at 4,000	9,515¾
Richmond, Va. 4	" 16	3,032	48 06½	178	4 06½	- - - - -	- - - - -	2,883	2,935¾
	Aggregate	78,060	1428 04¾	10,571	506 14	5,173 08	3,664 04	44,468¾	55,241½

*1. The postmaster reports the total weight of mail matter from his office as less than the average would be of several successive weeks together.

The weight of chargeable pamphlets sent in the first week of each month is greater by one hundred per cent. than is shewn by this report of 17th of June, owing to the greater number of their periodicals being published on the 1st of every month.

2. The postmaster gives no separate report of pamphlets, but includes them with newspapers. The proportion of the former sent from his office is believed to be small.

3. There is no report of the newspapers sent from this office. The weight is estimated. The postmaster estimates the weight of public documents reported, as less than the average of the session; but not more than the average of the year. The free letters he considers as exceeding, both in weight and number, the average of the year—though less than the average of the session of congress.

4. The newspapers and pamphlets are reported together, as in the Baltimore office.

No. II.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE'S LETTER.

Baltimore, 31*st Dec.*, 1776.

My Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 25th ultimo came to hand yesterday. I rejoice that you have recovered your health. The clouds have thickened exceedingly this way since you left Philadelphia, but they now begin to disperse. The enclosed* will inform you of a successful enterprise at Trenton, and if our troops follow their foe, as is their intention, I am in no doubt the enemy will be obliged to leave *Jersey*, which will end the campaign gloriously on our part. A number of light horse without their riders was taken at Trenton, not mentioned in the general's letter; and a considerable number of prisoners brought in since the enclosed returns. There was about two thousand five hundred crossed the river with *general Washington;* one division was commanded by *Sullivan*, the other by *Greene*—they were composed of those troops that came from the northward, some with *Lee* and others with *Gates*. This event will have a very good effect; it puts new life into the Pennsylvanians, and will add greatly to our strength from *Jersey*, that people who have been treated with such brutality by the British troops will be inspired with revenge, so that the advantage the enemy have gained in that country will enventually operate against them. Thus the wise disposer of all things directs human affairs.

The *Sondro Doria* is arrived at Philadelphia with a very valuable cargo. On her passage from the West Indies she fell in with a British sloop of war, which after an obstinate engagement struck to the American flag. The prize is not arrived.

By a circular letter from the president, you'll see the general is vested with almost dictatorial power. This measure was thought absolutely necessary for the salvation of America. There is also measures taken (which I hope will be effectual) to prevent the abuses suffered by the soldiers last campaign. I am in no doubt that the grievances so justly complained of in every department will be redressed so far as is possible, and the causes of them removed.

Colonel Poor is recommended by the general for a brigadier: as there will soon be a considerable addition to the list of general officers, it is probable that gentleman will be promoted. I heartily wish some method could be adopted to bring general Fulsom into the field, but

* See Washington's letter to the president of congress, giving an account of the battle of Trenton.

how this can be effected I don't know. I hope proper measures are taken to complete the new levies. For heaven's sake, and for the sake of every thing that's valuable on earth, don't rest till this business is done. The soldiers may be assured that the causes of their complaints will be removed. It's of the last importance that the garrison at Ticonderoga should immediately be reinforced.

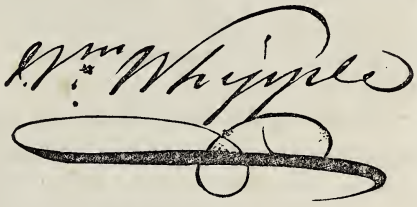
If the proposed army (which is to be increased to one hundred and ten battalions) should be completed, I am not in the least doubt that the enemies of America will be completely vanquished next campaign. The tyrant will undoubtedly summon earth and hell to his assistance to carry his infernal plans into execution. He has made another application to the court of Russia, but there is just reason to believe he has been unsuccessful. Every artifice has been used to make the court of France believe that an accommodation would take place; but congress have instructed their commissioners to assure that and other European courts, that they are determined to support the independence of the American States. Affairs in France wear a very favorable aspect.

General Gates arrived here a few days ago very sick, but is recovering. Business goes on briskly; more has been done in one week here than was done in two months in Philadelphia.

To perfect restoration of health, and that every happiness may be yours, is the sincere wish of

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

Hon. Josiah Bartlett,
In Congress.



P. S.—January 2d. Missing the opportunity this was designed, I have the pleasure to congratulate you on the arrival of the two brigs, *Lexington* and *Friendship*, at this place. The former was taken as she was going into Delaware by the Pearl frigate of thirty-two guns, who took out all her officers and put on board seven or eight men; but the weather being so bad they could not change the crew—the *honest* tars took possession of her and brought her safe into this port. The vessels have both very valuable cargoes on board. W. W.

William Whipple, Josiah Bartlett, and Matthew Thornton, signed the declaration of independence on behalf of New Hampshire.

Yours, J. B. B.

STATISTICS OF YALE COLLEGE FOR 1841.

Collated by a Linonian of 1788.

From the year 1701 to 1841 inclusive, a period of 140 years, there had been 8 presidents, and 6082 graduates, of whom 3248 were living. Of the whole number of graduates 1527 became preachers; of whom 664 were living. The first commencement was in 1702; from that to 1768, a period of 66 years, all (1278) had deceased in 1841. Of the class which graduated in 1768 only one is reported to be living; one of 1769; none of 1770; one of 1771; two of 1772; one of 1773; none of 1774; two of 1775; two of 1776; five of 1777; seven of 1778; nine of 1779; seven of 1780; five of 1781; seven of 1782; ten of 1783; ten of 1784; twenty-five of 1785; thirteen of 1786; fifteen of 1787; nine of 1788; five of 1789; eight of 1790; ten of 1791; sixteen of 1792; twenty-one of 1793; ten of 1794; ten of 1795; eighteen of 1796; twenty-seven of 1797; six of 1798; eleven of 1799; fifteen of 1800;—in the foregoing thirty-three years there were 1166 graduates, of whom three hundred and ten were reported to be living in 1841. From the year 1800 to 1811, a period of ten years, 529 had graduated, of whom three hundred and forty-six were alive in 1841. During the next ten years to 1821, 606 had graduated, of whom also three hundred and forty-six were living. In the next ten years to 1831, 763 had graduated, of whom six hundred and forty-nine were living. In the next ten years to 1841, 874 had graduated, of whom eight hundred and thirty-eight were living. Of 98 graduates in 1840, all were reported as being alive. Of 75 graduates in 1841, none had deceased.

Private Libraries.—There are two private libraries in Yale College, viz: the Brothers in Unity and the *Linonian*. The latter was founded September 12th, 1753, "for the promotion of friendship, social intercourse, and cultivation of literature." The constitution has been revised by *Kent*, *Dagget*, and *Sherman*: many of its members have occupied some of the most honorable stations in public and private life.

In about fifteen years, to 1768, the library numbered about 100 volumes: in the next eleven years, the library numbered about 200 volumes: in 1790 it had 330 volumes: in 1800, 475 volumes: in 1810, 724 volumes: in 1822, 1187 volumes: in 1831, 3500 volumes: in 1834, 4118 volumes: and in 1841, 7500: and the last year more than 800 volumes were added. For this rapidly increasing library, and the other private and public libraries, a spacious building is now being erected.

An old Book.—Dr. A. S. Peck, of Hatfield, has recently shown me a volume of the Bible, with William Tindal's address or preface, being now over two hundred and ninety years old: the type is the German text; the chapters are numbered, and not divided by verses. The chapters have marginal notes and references: it was printed in London in 1551, by Richard Kile.

Also, Fox's Book of Martyrs, printed in 1581, containing the history of Bishop Bonner's criminal trials, cruel charges, sentences and executions, in those days of cruel persecutions.

Also, a manuscript book, apparently a commissary's book; among other memorandums are receipts for wages dated 1757, for services performed in captain *John Stark's* (the husband of Molly Stark) company of rangers. Dr. Peck is said to have in his library several volumes of great antiquity.

Your's respectfully,

David Stebbins

CAPTIVITY OF ISRAEL DONALSON.

We give below an account of the captivity of Israel Donalson, Esq. as written by himself for the American Pioneer, and as told by Col. Mc Donald, in his Biographical Sketches, page 34. We give the last to do justice to the memory of Mr. Donalson, in some particulars omitted by himself, as well as to show the errors that may creep into the history of any man not told by himself. Being personally acquainted with Col. Mc Donald, we have no hesitation in saying that we attach to him not the slightest intention to misstate or exaggerate. Such is the case with much of what is told and confidently asserted in the social circle respecting the noble deeds of the pioneers, and shows to the life the necessity for a periodical in which they can have an easy access to the public ear in a tangible and permanent form. We most ardently wish to hear from Mr. Donalson again.

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At the request of a number of friends, I attempt to give you a brief account of my checkered life, which has been one full of incidents, many of which it is not in my power to relate, having kept no journal. I write entirely from memory, which is every day growing more indistinct. I was born in the county of Hunterdon, state of New Jersey, on the 2d February, 1767. While quite small, my father moved to Cumberland county, in said state, where I was reared up and received my education, and where we had perilous times during the long revolutionary struggle. I was too young to take any part in it myself, but capable of noticing passing events. I have known two companies to leave the house of worship during the serv-

ices of one Sabbath to face the enemy. In the fall of 1787, I left my native state to seek my fortune in western wilds. My first stop was in Ohio county, state of Virginia, where I remained until the spring of 1790; part of the time farming, part of the time teaching school, and a third part I was among the rangers stationed by the state of Virginia, at the Old Mingo town, about eighteen or twenty miles above Wheeling. In May, 1790, I took passage on board of a flat boat for Kentucky, and arrived at Limestone on the first night of June. I got into a public house, but was not able to procure food, fire, or bed, or any other nourishment but whisky, and a number of us that had landed that evening, spent the night sitting in the room, which was a grand one for those days. [Query, what should we have done if the temperance cause had prevailed at that time?] There had during the spring been a great deal of mischief done on the river, but we saw no Indians. There were however in company, I think, nineteen boats, Major Parker of Lexington was our admiral and pilot. During the summer of that year I taught school in what is now called Maysville. During the winter of 1790–91, I became acquainted with Nathaniel Massie, and in the spring of 1791, came to reside in his little fort, in the then county of Hamilton, Northwestern territory. At this time there was very little law or gospel in the territory, and the usual mode of settling disputes was by a game of fisticuffs; and at the close, sometimes a part of a nose, or ear, would be missing, but a good stiff grog generally restored harmony and friendship.

I am not sure whether it was the last of March or first of April I came to the territory to reside; but on the night of the 21st of April, 1791, Mr. Massie and myself were sleeping together on our blankets, (for beds we had none,) on the loft of our cabin, to get out of the way of the flees and gnats. Soon after lying down, I began dreaming of Indians, and continued to do so through the night. Sometime in the night, however, whether Mr. Massie waked of himself, or whether I wakened him, I cannot now say, but I observed to him I did not know what was to be the consequence, for I had dreamed more about Indians that night than in all the time I had been in the western country before. As is common he made light of it, and we dropped again to sleep. He asked me next morning if I would go with him up the river, about four or five miles, to make a survey, and that William Lytle, who was then at the fort, was going along. We were both young surveyors, and were glad of the opportunity to practice. Accordingly we three, and a James Tittle, from Kentucky, who was about buying the land, got on board of a canoe, and was a long time going up, the river being very high at the time. We commenced at

the mouth of a creek, which from that day has being called Donalson creek. We meandered up the river; Mr. Massie had the compass, Mr. Lytle and myself carried the chain. We had progressed perhaps one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty poles, when our chain broke or parted, but with the aid of the tomahawk we soon repaired it. We were then close to a large mound, and were standing in a triangle, and Lytle and myself were amusing ourselves pointing out to Tittle the great convenience he would have by building his house on that mound, when the one standing with his face up the river, spoke and said, boys, there are Indians; no, replied the other, they are Frenchmen. By this time I had caught a glimpse of them; I said they were Indians, and begged them to fire. I had no gun, and from the advantage we had, did not think of running until they started. The Indians were in two small bark canoes, and were close into shore and discovered us just at the instant we saw them; and before I started to run I saw one jump on shore. We took out through the bottom, and before getting to the hill, came to a spring branch. I was in the rear, and as I went to jump, something caught my foot, and I fell on the opposite side. They were then so close, I saw there was no chance of escape, and did not offer to rise. Three warriors first came up, presented their guns all ready to fire, but as I made no resistance they took them down, and one of them gave me his hand to help me up. At this time Mr. Lytle was about a chain's length before me, and threw away his hat; one of the Indians went forward and picked it up. They then took me back to the bank of the river, and set me down while they put up their stuff, and prepared for a march. While setting on the bank of the river, I could see the men walking about the block-house on the Kentucky shore, but they heard nothing of it. They went on rapidly that evening, and camped I think on the waters of Eagle creek, started next morning early, it raining hard, and one of them saw my hat was somewhat convenient to keep off the rain, came up and took it off my head, and put it on his own. By this time I had discovered some friendship in a very lusty Indian, I think the one that first came up to me; I made signs to him that one had taken my hat, he went and took it off the other Indian's head, and placed it again on mine, but had not gone far before they took it again. I complained as before, but my friend shook his head, took down and opened his budget, and took out a sort of blanket cap, and put it on my head. We went on; it still rained hard, and the waters were very much swollen, and when my friend discovered that I was timorous, he would lock his arm in mine, and lead me through, and frequently in open woods when I would get tired, I would do the same thing

with him, and walk for miles. They did not make me carry any thing until Sunday or Monday. They got into a thicket of game, and killed, I think, two bears and some deer; they then halted and jerked their meat, eat a large portion, peeled some bark, made a kind of box, filled it, and put it on me to carry. I soon got tired of it and threw it down: they raised a great laugh, examined my back, applied some bear's oil to it, and then put on the box again. I went on some distance and threw it down again; my friend then took it up, threw it over his head, and carried it. It weighed, I thought, at least fifty pounds.

While resting one day, one of the Indians broke up little sticks and laid them up in the form of a fence, then took out a grain of corn, as carefully wrapped up as people used to wrap up guineas in olden times; this they planted and called out squaw, signifying to me that that would be my employment with the squaws. But, notwithstanding my situation at the time, I thought they would not eat much corn of my raising. On Tuesday, as we were traveling along, there came to us a white man and an Indian on horseback; they had a long talk, and when they rode off the Indians I was with seemed considerably alarmed; they immediately formed in Indian file, placed me in the centre, and shook a war club over my head, and showed me by these gestures that if I attempted to run away they would kill me. We soon after arrived at the Shawanee camp, where we continued until late in the afternoon of the next day. During our stay there they trained my hair to their own fashion, put a jewel of tin in my nose, &c., &c. The Indians met with great formality when we came to the camp, which was very spacious. One side was entirely cleared out for our use, and the party I was with passed the camp to my great mortification, I thinking they were going on; but on getting to the further end they wheeled short round, came into the camp, sat down—not a whisper. In a few minutes two of the oldest got up, went round, shook hands, came and sat down again; then the Shawanees rising simultaneously, came and shook hands with them. A few of the first took me by the hand; but one refused, and I did not offer them my hand again, not considering it any great honor. Soon after a kettle of bear's oil and some craclins were set before us, and we began eating, they first chewing the meat, then dipping it into the bear's oil, which I tried to be excused from, but they compelled me to it, which tried my stomach, although by this time hunger had compelled me to eat many a dirty morsel. Early in the afternoon, an Indian came to the camp, and was met by his party just outside, when they formed a circle and he spoke, I thought, near an hour, and

so profound was the silence, that had they been on a board floor, I thought the fall of a pin might have been heard. I rightly judged of the disaster, for the day before I was taken I was at Limestone, and was solicited to join a party that was going down to the mouth of Snag creek, where some Indian canoes were discovered hid in the willows. The party went and divided, some came over to the Indian shore, and some remained in Kentucky, and they succeeded in killing nearly the whole party.

There was at this camp two white men; one of them could swear in English, but very imperfectly, having I suppose been taken young; the other, who could speak good English, told me he was from South Carolina. He then told me different names which I have forgot, except that of Ward; asked if I knew the Wards that lived near Washington, Kentucky. I told him I did, and wanted him to leave the Indians and go to his brother's, and take me with him. He told me he preferred staying with the Indians, that he might nab the whites. He and I had a great deal of chat, and disagreed in almost every thing. He told me they had taken a prisoner by the name of Towns, that had lived near Washington, Kentucky, and that he had attempted to run away, and they killed him. But the truth was, they had taken Timothy Downing the day before I was taken, in the neighborhood of Blue Licks, and had got within four or five miles of that camp, and night coming on, and it being very rainy, they concluded to camp. There were but two Indians, an old chief and his son; Downing watched his opportunity, got hold of a squaw-axe and gave the fatal blow. His object was to bring the young Indian in a prisoner; he said he had been so kind to him he could not think of killing him. But the instant he struck his father, the young man sprung upon his back and confined him so that it was with difficulty he extricated himself from his grasp. Downing made then for his horse, and the Indian for the camp. The horse he caught and mounted; but not being a woodsman, struck the Ohio a little below Scioto, just as a boat was passing. They would not land for him until he rode several miles and convinced them that he was no decoy, and so close was the pursuit, that the boat had only gained the stream when the enemy appeared on the shore. He had severely wounded the young Indian in the scuffle, but did not know it until I told him. But to return to my own narrative: two of the party, viz. my friend and another Indian, turned back from this camp to do other mischief, and never before had I parted with a friend with the same regret. We left the Shawanee camp about the middle of the afternoon, they under great excitement. What detained them I know not, for they

had a number of their horses up, and their packs on, from early in the morning. I think they had at least one hundred of the best horses that at that time Kentucky could afford. They calculated on being pursued, and they were right, for the next day, viz. the 28th of April, major Kenton, with about ninety men, were at the camp before the fires were extinguished; and I have always viewed it as a providential circumstance that the enemy had departed, as a defeat on the part of the Kentuckians would have been inevitable. I never could get the Indians in a position to ascertain their precise number, but concluded there were sixty or upward, as sprightly looking men as I ever saw together, and well equipped as they could wish for. The major himself agreed with me that it was a happy circumstance that they were gone.

We traveled that evening I thought seven miles, and encamped in the edge of a prairie, the water a short distance off. Our supper that night consisted of a raccoon roasted undressed. After this meal I became thirsty, and an old warrior, to whom my friend had given me in charge, directed another to go with me to the water, which made him angry; he struck me, and my nose bled. I had a great mind to return the stroke, but did not. I then determined, be the result what it might, that I would go no farther with them. They tied me and laid me down as usual, one of them lying on the rope on each side of me; they went to sleep, and I to work gnawing and picking the rope (made of bark) to pieces, but did not get loose until day was breaking. I crawled off on my hands and feet until I got into the edge of the prairie, and sat down on a trussuck to put on my moccasins, and had put on one and was preparing to put on the other, when they raised the yell and took the back track, and I believe they made as much noise as twenty white men could do. Had they been still they might have heard me, as I was not more than two chains' length from them at the time. But I started and ran, carrying one moccasin in my hand; and in order to evade them chose the poorest ridges I could find; and when coming to tree-logs lying crosswise, would run along one and then along the other. I continued on that way until about ten o'clock, then ascending a very poor ridge, crept in between two logs, and being very weary soon dropped to sleep, and did not waken until the sun was almost down; I traveled on a short distance further and took lodging for the night in a hollow tree. I think it was on Saturday that I got to the Miami. I collected some logs, made a raft by peeling bark and tying them together; but I soon found that too tedious and abandoned it. I found a turkey's nest with two eggs in it, each one having a double yelk; they made two delicious meals for

different days. I followed down the Miami, until I struck Harmar's trace, made the previous fall, and continued on it until I came to fort Washington, now Cincinnati. I think it was on Sabbath, the first day of May; I caught a horse, tied a piece of bark around his under jaw, on which there was a large tumor like a wart. The bark rubbed that, and he became restless and threw me, not hurting me much, however; I caught him again, and he again threw me, hurting me badly. How long I lay insensible I don't know; but when I revived he was a considerable distance from me. I then traveled on very slow, my feet entirely bare and full of thorns and briars. On Wednesday, the day that I got in, I was so far gone that I thought it entirely useless to make any further exertion, not knowing what distance I was from the river; and I took my station at the root of a tree, but soon got into a state of sleeping, and either dreamt, or thought that I should not be loitering away my time, that I should get in that day; which, on reflection, I had not the most distant idea. However, the impression was so strong that I got up and walked on some distance. I then took my station again as before, and the same thoughts occupied my mind. I got up and walked on. I had not traveled far before I thought I could see an opening for the river; and getting a little further on I heard the sound of a bell. I then started and ran; (at a slow speed undoubtedly,) a little further on I began to perceive that I was coming to the river hill; and having got about half way down, I heard the sound of an axe, which was the sweetest music I had heard for many a day. It was in the extreme out lot; when I got to the lot I crawled over the fence with difficulty, it being very high. I approached the person very cautiously till within about a chain's length, undiscovered, I then stopped and spoke; the person I spoke to was Mr. William Woodward, (the founder of the Woodward High School.) Mr. Woodward looked up, hastily cast his eyes round, and saw that I had no deadly weapon; he then spoke. "In the name of God," said he, "who are you?" I told him I had been a prisoner and had made my escape from the Indians. After a few more questions he told me to come to him. I did so. Seeing my situation his fears soon subsided; he told me to sit down on a log and he would go and catch a horse he had in the lot, and take me in. He caught his horse, set me on him, but kept the bridle in his own hand. When we got into the road, people began to enquire of Mr. Woodward, "who is he—an Indian?" I was not surprised nor offended at the enquiries, for I was still in Indian uniform, bare headed, my hair cut off close, except the scalp and foretop, which they had put up in a piece of tin, with a bunch of turkey feathers, which I could not undo. They had

also stripped off the feathers of about two turkeys, and hung them to the hair of the scalp; these I had taken off the day I left them. Mr. Woodward took me to his house, where every kindness was shown me. They soon gave me other clothing; coming from different persons, they did not fit me very neatly; but there could not be a pair of shoes got in the place that I could get on, my feet were so much swollen. But what surprised me most was, when a pallet was made down before the fire, Mr. Woodward condescended to sleep with me.

The next day, soon after breakfast, general Harmer sent for me to come to the fort. I would not go. A second messenger came: I still refused. At length a captain Shambrugh came; he pleaded with me, told me I might take my own time, and he would wait on me. At length he told me if I would not go with him, the next day a file of men would be sent, and I would then be compelled to go. I went with him; he was as good as his word, and treated me very kindly. When I was ushered into the quarters of the commander, I found the room full of people waiting my arrival. I knew none of them except judge Symmes, and he did not know me, which was not surprising, considering the fix I was in. The general asked me a great many questions; and when he got through he asked me to take a glass of liquor, which was all the aid he offered: meantime had a mind to keep me in custody as a spy, which, when I heard, it raised my indignation to think that the commander of an army should have no more judgment when his own eyes were witnessing that I could scarce go alone. I went out by his permission and met colonel Strong. He asked me if I was such a person; I answered in the affirmative and passed on. In going out of the gate I met his son. He knew me at once, and after a few minutes chat he pulled a dollar out of his pocket, offered it to me, saying it was all he had by him, but when I wanted, to call on him. I told him I did not think I should stand in need, people generally appeared so kind; but he insisted on my taking it; and I believe I brought it home with me in the course of that day. I got down to the river, and went into the store of Strong and Bartle, men that I had done business for previous to the campaign. For three or four weeks I was busy in making out accounts and settlements. My office was a smoke-house, about six or eight feet square, built of boat materials, and stood, I think, a little above Main street.

In the course of the day Mr. Collin Campbell came in. Bartle asked him if he knew me. He viewed me a considerable time and answered no. He then told him; but he could hardly believe him. But when convinced, nothing would do but I must go home with him to North Bend, that he might nurse me up and send me home. We got down

some time in the night; he had all his family to get up, and see what a queer man he had brought home. After some time we got to bed, and next morning, just after daylight, he came up into my chamber, or rather loft, and wakened me up. I begged of him to let me lay a little: no, I must get right up, and he would have in all who passed by to see me, and wherever he went I had to go. I staid there about two weeks, gaining in health and strength every day.

About this time there was a contractor's boat coming up the river. He hailed them and made the arrangement for me to go with them; put up provision for the trip, and done every thing that a near relation could have been required to do. About the time I left the Bend, some of the citizens professed to believe me to be a spy, and said, that if I did no leave there they would; and that I was only waiting a fair opportunity of bringing the enemy in upon them. As I did not want to break their peace, I thought best to leave them. When I got on the boat, I found two persons on board that I was well acquainted with, and was treated very friendly. Nothing particular occurred on the boat. When we got up to Limestone, I was greeted by almost every man, woman, and child, particularly those that had been under my tuition.

The captain Bartle above mentioned was among the first settlers of Cincinnati. I had not seen him for forty years until we met on the 26th December, 1838, the time the pioneers were invited to the half centennial celebration of Cincinnati. We then met, and at his request lodged in the same room. We parted the next day, never more to meet in this world; he was then ninety-four years of age, and has since paid his last debt.

Israel Donalson

Manchester, Ohio, 27th June, 1842.

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Extract from McDonald's Biographical Sketches.—Early in the spring of the year 1792, Massie proceeded to make some surveys on a small creek, which empties into the Ohio four miles above Manchester, accompanied by Israel Donalson and two others. They meandered up the river to the mouth of the creek, and sat down on a log, not far from the bank of the river, to eat some junk. As they were eating and amusing themselves with chit-chat, they were not a little startled to see seven or eight Indians walk up the bank of the river without their arms, having left them in their canoe at the mouth of the creek. Massie and his party fled. The Indians, yelling horridly, pursued them. When the surveying party reached the foot of the hill, they had a deep ravine to cross, about ten or twelve feet wide,

and as many in depth. Massie, and two others of his companions, leaped the ravine; but poor Donalson, being less active in making the leap, plunged into the ditch. Massie and the two others, soon ran to Manchester, and gave an account of their misfortune. He was ignorant whether or no Donalson was killed. Early next morning he collected twenty men, and went to the ravine, and found that Donalson must have been taken. The trail of the Indians was pursued for some distance, when it was concluded, that if the pursuit was continued, and the Indians were aware of it, they would immediately kill Donalson; but that if they were permitted to go off unmolested, they would in all probability save his life. The pursuing party immediately returned to Manchester, permitting the Indians to pursue their course.

Some time passed before the fate of Donalson was known at the station, and that was made known by his own sudden appearance. From his account of the affair, it appears the Indians had been trapping up Big Sandy river, and were on their return to Wapatomaka town (now Zanesfield,) on Mad river. That the Indians had passed from the mouth of Big Sandy down the Ohio, until they reached the mouth of the creek, where they landed with their canoes, and had given pursuit to the party. The foremost Indian, pursuing them closely, saw Donalson make his unfortunate plunge, and before he could recover, leaped upon him tomahawk in hand. Donalson instantly surrendered and was made a prisoner. It was late in the evening when they took him, and they immediately loaded him with their peltry, and made a rapid march homeward. In a few days they reached the Chillicothe town, on the Little Miami. At this time, he began to think about effecting his escape, although the difficulties against which he had to contend were great, owing to the extreme caution and watchfulness of the Indians. At night they confined him in the following manner. They took a strong tug (a rope made of the raw hide of the buffalo or elk,) and fastened it around his body, each end of the tug being tied around the body of an Indian. The tug was tied so tightly, that it could not be slipped, nor could he move to the one side or the other without drawing the Indian after him. It was from such a situation he had to extricate himself. One night, while the Indians were tying him after the usual manner, he puffed up his body to its full extent by drawing in his breath; and when they had completed the process, he found that there was a good deal of play in the noose of the tug. He laid very still until the Indians were fast asleep. Then, having partly undressed himself, he began slowly and cautiously to slip from the noose. After a long trial he succeeded in slipping himself out, and found himself once more a freeman. He instantly rushed to the thickets. The night was clear, and he could steer his course by the stars. Striking off in a southern direction, he traveled all night. The next day he fell on Harmer's old trace, and followed its course to the south. In two days he reached Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. Here he remained a few days to recruit himself, and then returned to his friends at Manchester, where he was most joyfully received, as there had been with them great anxiety as to his fate. The creek, at the mouth of which

he was taken, was called after him, "Donalson's creek;" which name it still retains, and will retain when the event which gave birth to its name will be forgotten. Mr. Donalson is still living, the patriarch of Manchester, and is, I believe, the only one of the first settlers who lives there at this time. He held many public offices. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution for the state of Ohio, and uniformly preserved the character of an honest and useful man.

GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

We again introduce our faithful Illinois correspondent to the readers of the Pioneer, and most interesting too, not only on account of the precious relics enclosed and copied below, but for the errors he corrects, which would be scarcely possible except in such a vehicle as we present to the public.

It is almost enough to draw tears from a heart of stone to contemplate the sufferings and lukewarm treatment endured by our fathers, which drove many of them to desperation, and none more humiliating than the case of general Clark now before us, to whose prowess and exertions we owe the territory north-west of the Ohio. Where shall *his* monument stand?

Mount Carmel, Illinois, October 11, 1842.

Jno. S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir—Your tenth number has been received—as the numbers have been irregular, I wish you to keep a file especially for me of the first volume. I think, with the change of times, that your Pioneer will "go ahead." It is becoming still more interesting as you advance.

I have an original journal of the progress of general St. Clair's army from Cincinnati until defeated at Fort Recovery, as named by general Wayne. I have had a long look for it—it has got loose among my three or four large trunks of papers. When I find it, it shall be forwarded. I have the papers of several officers of Wayne's and St. Clair's army, and send you the autograph of general George Rogers Clark, (the Washington of the west,) of 1787 and 1791. What a falling off! but there was a cause for it. I also, annexed, send you that of James O'Hara of Pittsburgh. These two letters show what difficulties the most meritorious officers met with—claims on congress and Virginia legislature neglected—and both had to be *dogged* into a settlement. After taking the two strongest British posts in the west, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, at the latter governor Hamilton and more prisoners than he had men, general Clark met with great obstacles in getting his accounts settled. This drove him into desperation, and he gave way to intemperance. I was told by the family of general Jon-

athan Clark, his brother, that we were relations, distantly so, I suppose, for we western pioneers lose sight of kin after the first *cousin.*

In lieutenant Bowyer's journal there is a misprint—general *Barber* for *Barbee;* there was two of them, Joshua and Elias, both distinguished Kentuckians. There was no general *Barber* in the army, as far as I have any knowledge of facts.

Poor lieutenant *Blue*, who kept up a tumult in the army, was killed in a duel at Fort Washington, I think by Bradshaw, perhaps, (though not certain—also killed,) whose papers I have. My first wife's father, captain James Bradford, was killed at St. Clair's defeat, 4th November, 1791. I could tell you a good story about his monkey, who on one occasion turned "doctor!"

I was neighbor to Whitesides, referred to by Mr. Sharp, of Missouri, while living near Boonsborough, in Kentucky—I think his name was Joseph Whitesides. His son of that name was my schoolmate at a buckeye log cabin school-house—an interesting time. I have a particular account of this school, of the thirty or forty youths who were educated in the buckeye cabin—doctors, lawyers, colonels, generals, and a judge of the supreme court of the United States! Whitesides, as correctly stated, while tied with buffalo thongs, knocked down the Indian, and he fell over into a sink hole, when Whitesides fell upon him and choked him to death with his *elbows!* and then ran, choked at every jump by the thong or tug around his neck! He was a bony and very stout man with large white *eyes!*

While looking for the journal of St. Clair's army, I fell on a packet of papers, extracted from books taken from the Franklin library of Philadelphia, in 1827, while there, adducing, from vast researches, proof of the first discovery of America by the Welch, as heretofore hastily sketched for you; and, in case reference is had to that subject, I will furnish you with these sketches also for your Pioneer. I have autographs of George Washington, Wayne, St. Clair, and several speeches of congress, (of old congress,) also diplomas signed at eastern colleges and masonic lodges, among other official papers.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your's,

Th. S. Hinde

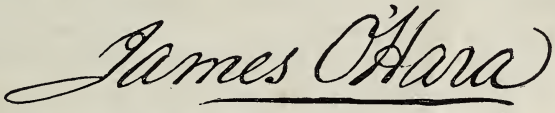
Pittsburgh, January 24th, 1787.

Dear Sir—I wrote you in August last respecting your accounts with the United States, but have not received any answer. As Mr. Campbell could not do any thing in them with the comptroller-general, he left your power of attorney with me, which I have here. I

should be happy to have the power to serve you, and pressed for a settlement far as I possibly could. Mr. Milligan would not pass them, as stated by Mr. Campbell, and I had no authority to make any alteration. The charge of pay for all the intervening time between the two treaties, I apprehend will be partly disputed. However, as you cannot attend yourself, if you will state the whole account, and take out a new power of attorney, and honor me with your particular instructions, I shall immediately attend to it and cheerfully endeavor to execute the business myself, or assist any other whom you may appoint.

I left a small cargo of goods with Mr. Bradshaw at the Miami last spring, and as he has been obliged to remove, perhaps more than once, they must be a great incumbrance to him in his other business. Whatever may remain, I would wish you could take on your own account and enable him to close his sales, for which you and I can settle hereafter. I shall expect to hear from you by the first opportunity.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,



General George Rogers Clark, Falls of Ohio.

—

Received at Louisville, April 6th, 1787, from James O'Hara, by the hands of John Bradshaw, one hundred and sixty-four pounds five shillings, Virginia currency, for which I am accountable to said O'Hara or his order on demand.



—

Louisville, September 13, 1791.

Sir—By Mr. Lacasangn, I received a letter from you dated at Fort Washington. I find by the contents, that I justly owe you one hundred and some odd pounds. I doubt that captain O'Hara hath not done me justice, but I am yet unconvinced; but as the probability of

my receiving money this fall is such that I think you ought to be easy. I hope this will make you so, for you may count yourself so much the richer; for if I can't get money I have plenty of property, and your debt shall be paid: but I only wish to wait until I see the result of my success this fall at the assembly.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

G. R. CLARK.

COLONEL ANDERSON'S OFFICE.

THE following note was thankfully received, as will both the promised and all other communications on kindred subjects from the same source. Coming from a son of a distinguished and active pioneer, and himself a talented writer, they cannot fail to be highly interesting. We perhaps owe to Mr. A. an apology for publishing his note. We have an indistinct impression that when he handed it to us, he said he did not write it for the press. If so, we know he will excuse us when he reflects that we are collecting facts, not only for persons distant in space but in time, who will have good reason to call us an unfaithful servant, if we do not present them with the best evidence for every thing that we can procure.

Our faithful Missouri correspondent objects to the title of colonel, which we gave him—says he never was higher than major, but that his best title is Benjamin Sharp. He has observed, also, an error in No. IX., page 334, where he is made to say he "preserved," instead of "pursued" his father.

— *June* 11th, 1842.

MR. JNO. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

I KNOW it will give you pleasure to receive the following statement, as it will enable you to enlarge and correct your "Territorial Chronology."

The office of the Virginia military district was opened by colonel Richard C. Anderson, on the 20th day of July, 1784. Entry No. 1, in the name of Wm. Brown, was made at the mouth of Cumberland river, Kentucky. The first location made in his office, on the north side of the Ohio river, was recorded August 1st, 1787. This date was given by you for the opening of the office; hence the mistake. This entry was made for Wace Clements, and lies at the mouth of Eagle creek, and is No. 386, for one thousand acres.

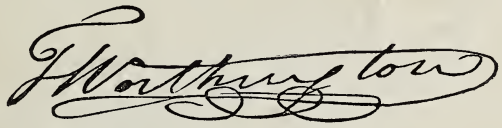
I hope soon to send you a characteristic entry made by old Simon Kenton. Meanwhile, I am, respectfully,

W. Marshall Anderson

PROPOSED BIRTH OF OHIO.

City of Washington, January 28th, 1801.

Dear Sir—Believing that you wish that our present colonial system (oppressive in its nature and unjust in practice, and made more so by the usurpation of the executive,) should be changed as soon as propriety may dictate, and that we should be governed by principles congenial to the feelings of freemen, and which you have supported and helped to establish in the times which tried men's souls, I do myself the pleasure to inform you that congress did yesterday reject the law passed by the territorial legislature. A resolution has been moved the object of which is to appoint a committee who shall report their opinions on the propriety of passing a law, giving the assent of congress to our assuming an independent state government. I can only say that it is my opinion that a law will be passed to this effect; and, as I have before stated, believing you friendly to this measure, I feel a pleasure in communicating to you this information. You know I have been uniformly a supporter of the measure ever since I had the pleasure of first seeing you, and that our feelings on this subject have been perfectly coincident. I hope to see you a member of our convention, and that you may, when you bid adieu to time, have the consolation of having given your aid in the formation of a government which is to protect the lives, liberties, and property of thousands yet unborn. Present me respectfully to your good lady, and accept the assurances of my respect and esteem,



Wm. Goforth, jr., esq.

EDITORIAL FINALE.

We here close the first volume of the American Pioneer, and give the index to the whole, as promised. The work is now fairly before the public, and it would be superfluous, if not presumptive, in us to say of what quality the work is. You all see it—judge for yourselves, and say whether such a work ought to be sustained and continued, or not. Some have said, and so we think, that the interest of the work and its manifest useful tendencies, has regularly increased from the commencement; and this we think will be the case during the entire period of its continuance. Editors throughout the country have noticed it most favorably, for which they have our warmest thanks.

Many very interesting articles we have been obliged to defer to the second volume. Several new and able contributors will then appear, who might reasonably have expected their contributions to appear in this. We can neither arrange nor notice articles agreeable to their merits, were it necessary, but

we do intend in future to avoid dividing long and interesting narratives, as far as possible. We have sometimes, very reluctantly, to do it to give the deserved variety. Partly to enable us to carry out this resolution, but more to accommodate subscribers, many of whom for the first volume have paid the postage of thirty-two sheets, we intend to work on paper fifty per cent larger. The pages, type, &c., will be the same size exactly, and issued in ten numbers; there will be given four hundred and eighty pages, instead of four hundred and forty-eight, on twenty sheets of paper. Each number will contain forty-eight pages, and be but two sheets—thus the subscriber will get thirty-two pages more of reading matter for two dollars, with but little more than half the postage. We think this is an alteration we are bound to make, not for our, but for their advantage.

We have given this year near sixty engraved signatures of over thirty different contributors, so like their own hands as uot to be easily distinguished. A number of contributions were published before we made this arrangement, which we regret. We hope their authors will appear hereafter.—We expect that the number of engraved signatures will constantly increase.

It is for the friends of the truth and justice of history to say whether a work devoted to it shall be sustained. All that lay in our power has been done to promote the cause in which we are engaged. The difficulties under which we have labored have been discouraging if not distressing. The present patronage will not sustain him; but the editor, trusting to the support of his friends, will stake his property on the issue. He hopes by his late removal to Cincinnati, that some of the difficulties are removed, and the completion of all his professional engagements leaves him at entire liberty to bestow all his time and energies upon the work; and may the public respond to his exertions in such a manner that an embarrassed state of his pecuniary concerns, will not make heavy drafts upon those energies which should be devoted to his enterprize. If circumstances entirely beyond his control, do not prevent, it is his determination to make such a digest of American history as will, by references to the Pioneer, connect the one with the other, and enable the reader to peruse the Pioneer with double interest, by giving zest to circumstances which, unconnected with the published histories, appear to be without value.

In conclusion, we beg leave to mention that the Logan Historical Society have only suspended, but not by any means abandoned, their first intention of doing justice to the memory of the injured Logan, by the erection of a monument inscribed with his ever-memorable speech. It has been thought prudent not to agitate that subject in the present embarrassed state of financial matters. It is not only justice to departed worth, in the person of Logan, to which we shall at a future and more propitious season call public attention, but there are other cases which, to us, appear equally neglected.

Jno. S. Williams

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